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FINAL REPORT
(VOLUME II)

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TITLE: The orientation of the educational system so far as primary and secondary schools for Whites are concerned, to the bilingual and bicultural structure of white South African society.

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THE ORIENTATION OF THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLE,
TO THE AS PRIMARY AND SECONDARY MOUNTAIN
WHITE AND CONCENTRATED, TO THE MOUNTAIN AND
SOCIOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF WHITE MOUNTAIN
SOCIETY.

Report Presented to the Social Commission on
Sociological and Sociological

VOLUME II

W.D. McCord

February, 1960.



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THE ORIENTATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM,
SO FAR AS PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR
WHITES ARE CONCERNED, TO THE BILINGUAL AND
BICULTURAL STRUCTURE OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN
SOCIETY.

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W.G. McConkey

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Notes on Terms Used

Medium of instruction: The language in which instruction is given.

English-medium school: A school in which all school business is done and all instruction is given in English; provided that other languages, e.g. Afrikaans, Latin, French, German, may be taught by the direct method.

Afrikaans-medium school: A school in which all school business is done and all instruction is given in Afrikaans; provided that other languages, e.g. English, Latin, French, German, may be taught by the direct method.

Single-medium school: A school like those above in which only English-medium classes are conducted, OR in which only Afrikaans-medium classes are conducted, in contrast to parallel-medium, dual-medium or double-medium schools in which pupils of both language groups are members of one school and share certain activities.

Parallel-medium (or parallel) school: A school in which English-speaking children are taught in English in their own classrooms, while Afrikaans-speaking children are taught in Afrikaans in their separate classrooms. Assemblies, games and other general school activities at such schools are conducted in both languages, in turn or otherwise, according to circumstances.

Dual-medium or double-medium school: A school in which pupils of both language groups are instructed together in the same classroom, partly in the one language, partly in the other. Dual-medium organisation was enforced in the Orange Free State for some time after 1906 and in the Transvaal for some time after 1946 in order to foster bilingualism. It is now rarely found outside schools in which children of one language group (or of both) are so few in number that some grouping of classes is economically imperative. A single-standard, double-language grouping, e.g.

Teacher A: English-medium Std. VII plus Afrikaans-medium Std. VII,

Teacher B: English-medium Std. VIII plus Afrikaans-medium Std. VIII, may be preferred to a single-language, double-standard grouping, e.g.

Teacher A: English-medium Standards VII and VIII.

Teacher B: Afrikaans-medium Standards VII and VIII.

Bilingual school: A term sometimes used to include both parallel-medium and dual-medium or double-medium schools.

Mother-tongue education: Education through the medium of the mother-tongue, or home language. Compulsory in the Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State.

Parental option: The right of the parent in Natal to choose either official language as the medium of his child's instruction.

If English is choosen as medium, Afrikaans must be learnt as a language, and vice versa.

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Brief Resumé of ReportIntroductory

South Africa's population of 18 million - White, Coloured, African, Asian. Languages spoken. The different waves of migration. Expansion of White rule. Role of White groups in modern industrialisation and urbanisation. Value of bilingualism in a country where speakers of the two official languages are not geographically separated but are generally interspersed in all major areas of White population.

I.

Surveys the fortunes of English and Dutch in the Cape Colony from 1652 till 1910.

a) 1652-1805. The period of the Dutch in the Cape Company (1652-1795) and the Batavian Republic (1803-1805). Discouragement of French of Huguenots by Company. Character of education in Company period. Educational and other plans of Commissioner-General de Mist.

b) 1805-1910. Smallness of population at time of annexation. Dutch and Afrikaans. Policy of anglicisation. British social policies. Reaction against these. Land hunger. Trek of border farmers. State schools. System of aided schools. Powers of local school committees. Right (1865) to provide for instruction through medium of Dutch not made use of.

English dominant. Opposing forces. Inertia of submerged.
Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners. Afrikaner nationalism after
 Jameson Raid and Anglo-Boer War. Foundation of Zuid-Afrikaanse
 Onderwysersunie.

II.

Surveys the position of Dutch and English in the schools
 of the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal until 1910. At
 the end, discusses the English-Dutch relationship on eve of
 Union.

a) Transvaal. Slow start in education. Unsettled times.
 Pragmatic approach. Both Dutch and English used as media.
 Dutch officially sole medium (1882) but this provision not
 strictly applied. Disagreements between teachers from Holland
 and those from the Cape. The gold mines and the Uitlanders.
 Grants for Uitlander schools. Uitlanders and Dutch language.
 Anglo-Boer War. Schools in concentration camps. Boers establish
 Christian-National schools. Milner's policy of anglicisation.
 Selborne's conciliatory policy. Self-government. The Smuts
 Education Act of 1907. Early mother-tongue instruction.

b) Orange Free State. Good English-Dutch relations until
 Anglo-Boer War. Milner prescribes English as medium, with
 instruction in Dutch as language. Christian-National reaction.
 Compromise of 1905. Hertzog Education Bill of 1908. Litigation.
 Council Schools. The 1910 settlement.

c) Natal. Early settlements. English immigration of 1849 and provision of state schools. English as medium and Dutch as language generally acceptable. Anglo-Boer War. Action, reaction and settlement in annexed areas.

d) Discussion of English-Dutch relationship on eve of Union (paragraphs 71-76).

III.

The South Africa Act. The Union of South Africa (31 May 1910). The Provincial Councils and education. English and Dutch official languages entitled to equal treatment (Article 137). The language question raised in Parliament. Provincial legislation reviewed in light of Article 137. Parliamentary debate: compulsory mother-tongue education v. parental option, and compulsory v. voluntary learning of second language. Practical inequalities of English and Dutch in South African conditions. Adjustments in Transvaal and Orange Free State on basis of compulsory mother-tongue education for first six school years; thereafter parental option. Adjustment in Natal on basis of parental option. Difficulties in way of compulsion in Cape. Langenhoven pleads for Afrikaans instead of Dutch.

IV.

The Dutch v. Afrikaans debate. Conservatism of church and school. Afrikaans makes headway. Langenhoven's resolution in Cape Provincial Council in favour of Afrikaans accepted (April 1914). Similar resolution accepted in Free State; and in

Transvaal. Mixed reception at first by Afrikaans teachers' societies; soon strong support. Rapid transition from Dutch to Afrikaans in schools. Position in 1924. The Church accepts Afrikaans. The Dutch Reformed Church and separate Christian-National schools. The National Party's 'two-stream' policy. Mother-tongue debate resumed. Compulsion extended to eighth school year. Definitive recognition of Afrikaans by Parliament (Act No. 8 of 1925).

V.

1925-1939. 'Urbanisation. Integration of 'poor Whites' into modern economy. 'Civilised labour'. Contribution made by education. The Afrikaners increasingly townsmen. School adjustments: parallel classes - advantages and disadvantages. Attitude of teachers' societies. Parallel-medium v. single-medium debate. Increasing popularity of Afrikaans as medium illustrated statistically (p. 79). General Hertzog pleads for a 'consolidated South African nation'. Reaction of separatist Afrikaner organisations: the Broederbond; the F.A.K. Positive work of F.A.K. Its divisive influence. The Institute for Christian-National Education.

VI.

Summarises results of Bilingualism Survey conducted in 1938 by Dr. E.G. Malherbe. Malherbe's 'six stages of practical bilingualism'. The schools in 1938, single-, parallel- and dual-medium. The purpose of the survey: to study degree of

bilingualism; factors determining linguistic growth, e.g. intelligence, home environment, influences outside the home, the school, the type of school organisation; the influence of medium on attainment a) in the two languages and b) on progress in other subjects; also the vocational value of bilingualism. Linguistic structure of home environment. Many homes bilingual. Effect of instruction in 'wrong' medium. Language achievement as influenced by school organisation. Social attitudes in single-medium and bilingual schools; in training-college students. Comments on Survey.

VII.

Medium of instruction by provinces, 1932-1939-1946. Reasons for increasing Afrikaans-medium enrolments. Industrialisation swells Transvaal enrolments and, to lesser extent, Natal's. The Second World War brings division. General Smuts, Prime Minister. Parliamentary resolution on use of second language as supplementary medium to 'make ideals of bilingualism and national unity in the schools fully effective.' Provincial Ordinance No. 23 of 1942 in Natal provides for teaching ($\frac{1}{2}$ hour to 1 hour daily) through medium of second language. Assessment of results in 1949. Effect of lessons through second medium. Effect of school organisation. Effect of general environment. Experimental approach in Cape Province. Effects of teacher attitudes; and of pupil attitudes. Transvaal Education Amendment Ordinance of 1945. Its far-reaching provisions. Lukewarm support and vehement opposition. Amending Ordinance

of 1948. National Party gains control of Parliament (1948) and of Transvaal Provincial Council (1949). Ordinance of 1949 reinstates compulsory mother-tongue medium and extends it to include Standard VIII (tenth school year). Natal rescinds dual-medium requirements (1950). Cape terminates experiments.

VIII.

The Institute for Christian-National Education. The abortive 1944 report. The 1948 policy statement. Its main points. Its reception. Controversy. Authoritative nature of statement. Prof. Coetzee on Christian-National Education. Memorandum of Dutch Reformed Churches on 'divided control' of education. Government action on recommendations.

IX.

The laws governing medium of instruction. Extension of compulsory mother-tongue medium to Standard VIII in three provinces. Procedures laid down in Chapter IV (Language and Education) of Transvaal Ordinance No. 29 of 1953. Types of school in Transvaal. Procedures laid down in Orange Free State Ordinance No. 16 of 1954. Relevant provisions (chapter 17) of Cape Ordinance No. 20 of 1956. Provision for parental option in Natal (Section 11 (1) of Ordinance No. 23 of 1942). Departmental safeguards. Bilingualism of teachers. Natal and the parallel-school principle. Requirements for introduction of second medium, and of secondary classes. New city schools single-medium: reasons. The Natal record. Non-provincial vocational schools.

X.

Instruction in the second language. Compulsory in all provinces. Typical time allocations. The teacher: class teacher, or specialist. Degree of bilingualism expected of pupils at various stages. Incidental learning: assemblies, school singing, playing fields.

XI.

The teaching establishment. Pupil: teacher ratios. Professional qualifications of teachers. Shortages: teachers of Afrikaans, English, Mathematics and physical science. Preponderance of Afrikaans-speaking teachers: Afrikaans, English, Other, in percentages 74.1, 23.0, 2.9. Low masculinity of English-speaking corps. Effects of this shortage. Reasons. Socio-economic status and vocational expectations. Other reasons.

XII.

Training of teachers. Requirements for admission to teachers' colleges and universities. Training of secondary teachers. Training of primary teachers. Medium at university. Bilingual requirements. Medium of teachers' colleges. Masculinity. Teachers' college staffs: home languages, masculinity. Bilingual requirements for certification. Criticisms of university preparation of language teachers. Need for appreciation of 'other' cultural values.

XIII.

Appointments and promotions of teachers. Centralised system in Natal. Advantages and limitations. Role of bilingualism. Bonus for bilingualism. Local interest. School boards and school committees in other provinces. Cape procedures. Free State procedures. Transvaal procedures. Dissatisfaction with powers of school committees. Allegations of preference on non-professional grounds. Religious preference.

XIV.

Teachers' organisations. Separate organisations for all cultural groups. Provision for co-operation. Parallelism in South African life generally. The Afrikaans and English organisations: in Transvaal, in the Cape, in Natal. Educational and social outlook of the English organisations. Of the Afrikaans organisations. Reservations. Prejudice conveyed by infection. Affiliations with the F.A.K. The Sons of England. The Abe Bailey Trust. The National Advisory Education Council.

XV.

Biculturalism and the curriculum. Time devoted to language teaching. Effect on main language. Losses offset by advantages of bilingualism. Little room for classical or foreign languages. Evaluations in literature. Slanted teaching of history. Auerbach's study of textbooks. Libraries. School broadcasting.

XVI.

Biculturalism and the Non-White schools. Historical role of English. The 1937 F.A.K. congress. Other views on role of Afrikaans. Prof. B.F. Nel - Christian-National policy. African education and the missions. African education taken over by Bantu Affairs Department. Some effects. Language policies. Digression on Afrikaans and apartheid. The Transkeian Commission. Delayed expansion of secondary education. Isolationism at university level. Coloured education. Indian education.

VIII

Christian-National Education

208. Reference has been made ⁶⁴ to the establishment in 1939, by the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations (F.A.K.), of its Institute for Christian-National Education (I.C.N.O.). The Institute decided at an early stage that the formulation of C.N.E. policy in fairly comprehensive terms was an important first task. It prepared several drafts and in 1944 submitted proposals on which Mr. T.J.A. Gerdener ⁶⁵ threw a momentary ray of light during a speech at the Congress of the Natal National Party in August 1959. 'Those proposals', said Mr. Gerdener, 'were that there shall be only one language (Afrikaans), one church or group of churches (the Dutch-Afrikaans), indoctrination of our young people with Nationalist (Nasionale) ⁶⁶ ideals, no freedom of conscience, and no freedom of speech .' The proposals, said Mr. Gerdener, had been considered 'too extreme'. They had, no doubt, like the National Party's republican constitution, been drawn up in the days when Hitler could still be regarded as the deus ex machina whose victory would bring the right kind of republic. In 1944 that vision was fading.

64. In paragraph 145 above.

65. Then leader of the National Party opposition in the Natal Provincial Council. Now Administrator of Natal.

66. Die Burger, 31 August 1959.

209. In February, 1948, the Institute published its recon-
⁶⁷sidered statement of C.N.E. policy. According to the Foreword
 by Professor J.C. van Rooy, chairman of the F.A.K., the statement
 has the approval of all Afrikaans organisations in any way in-
 terested in education. The advance of Afrikaans as medium of
 instruction, said Professor van Rooy, had been a victory of only
 limited value. Afrikaans as medium in a school which was
 culturally foreign was as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.
 The schools must be more than mother-tongue schools: they must
 be placed where the children are soaked and nurtured in the
 Christian-National cultural goods of the nation... . They (the
 I.C.N.O.) wanted no mixing or mingling of language, of culture,
 of religion or of race. They were winning the 'medium' battle.
⁶⁸The battle for the Christian and National school was still
 before them. The pamphlet formulated the policy for this
 cultural struggle -- now also a struggle in the schools.

210. Part I of the pamphlet deals with primary and secondary
 schools. It consists of nine articles.

211. Article 1 - 'Foundation' - defines education for Afrikaans-
 speaking children as their nurture in the Christian-National ideals
 of the nation, having as its aim the propagation, protection and
 development of the Christian and National character of the nation.
 The term Christian here means 'based on Holy Scripture and on the
 Articles of Faith of our three Afrikaans churches.' The term
 National is defined as 'love for all that is our own...our country,
 our language, our history and our culture.'

67. Christelik-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid, prepared and published by
 the I.C.N.O. of the F.A.K. Johannesburg, 1948.

68. 'Christian-National' and 'Christian and National' are used
 synonymously in the pamphlet.

212. Apart from the obvious objection to such an educational aim - that it subjects the interests of the individual pupils absolutely to a group interest - there is a further objection - that the group to which all is to be sacrificed is so limited. 'Christian' education, as defined, would subject minority groups in attendance at Afrikaans-medium schools to a religious education other than that of their homes. 'National' fails to provide for the teaching of any wider loyalty than that to one section of the South African nation.

213. These limitations are re-emphasised in succeeding articles on the content of the syllabuses on religious education, on the mother-tongue, on civics, on geography, on history - 'national' history being, next to the mother-tongue, the 'greatest instrument for the cultivation of love for one's own.' They are again emphasised in article 8 on the control of education where separate schools for Afrikaans-speaking children - with their 'common faith and language' - and other schools for the English-speaking are demanded. The only references to the second official language are negative: 'Bilingualism cannot be the aim of education. The second language must wait until the child has a sound understanding of his mother-tongue.'

214. It is interesting to note that in this statement, published in February 1948, while General Smuts was Prime Minister, a system of government-aided schools was envisaged as long-term policy, though the immediate objective was the saturation of the ordinary public schools with the Christian-National spirit

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and purpose . Obviously, under a well-disposed government, the latter objective offers a much more economical path to the attainment of the sectional ends, even on a permanent basis. Aided-school development since 1948 - as far as Afrikaans-speaking children are concerned - has been very small, and usually under Catholic auspices.

215. Other articles reflect the same spirit. Technical colleges, trades schools, reformatories should all be single-medium institutions. The teachers in all technical institutions should be Protestants and bilingual South Africans. Coloured education should be under the trusteeship of the White man, and, more particularly, of the Afrikaner. This trusteeship lays on the Afrikaner the obligation to see to it that Coloured children are educated according to Christian-National principles. The principles of apartheid should be strictly applied in education as in religious life. The mother tongue must be emphasised in Coloured education which must be so organised that it is not provided at the expense of White education. Native education is to be on the basis of trusteeship, no equality, and segregation. It must be founded on the world view of the Whites and more particularly on that of the Afrikaner ('Boer') nation as the senior White trustee. The mother tongue must be the basis of Native education, but the two official languages must be taught as subjects because...they are the keys to that cultural

borrowing which the Native needs for his own cultural advancement. Because of the Native's cultural immaturity, it is the duty of the state, in co-operation with the Protestant churches, to provide for and control Native education. But it should be taken over as soon as possible by the Natives themselves. It must not be financed at the expense of White education. It must lead in due course to the development of an independent, self-maintaining and self-providing Native community on a Christian-National foundation.

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216. Professor J. Chr. Coetzee writes of the pamphlet's reception. 'The three Dutch Reformed churches immediately gave their wholehearted support by synodal resolution. Afrikaans teachers and educationists applauded the formulation. People of other views kept silent. Suddenly and sharply, the opponents came forward. The brochure was made a point of attack in the general election of 1949 (1948?). The C.N.E. policy had at once become a matter of burning interest.'

217. The pamphlet was criticised by General Smuts's United Party. It was attacked by prominent non-Nationalist Afrikaners. Professor M.C. Botha, a former Secretary for Education, described it as 'neither Christian nor National nor education'. Dr. E.G. Malherbe attacked its isolationism and obscurantism. The three predominantly English-speaking teachers' associations opposed it. As typical of their point of view, I quote some paragraphs from

a Critical Commentary issued by the Cape association. The writer has quoted some points made in the Foreword to the policy statement by the chairman of the F.A.K., and comments:

'These statements raise two points of very grave importance. First, the impression is here given that a violent "struggle" is only now beginning, to give the Afrikaner his rightful place in the community and to ensure that his children be adequately trained in his traditions. In view of the numerical strength of the Afrikaans-speaking section and the active part it plays in all branches of political, social and economic life, this assumption appears to be extraordinarily out of line with the facts.

'Secondly the Association finds distasteful the reiterated determination to keep separate at all costs the two main European stocks in this country. It criticises strongly the remarkable statement, "We will have nothing to do with a mixture of languages, of culture, of religion or of race". What, to begin with, is meant by "a mixture of languages"? No one in his senses would advocate South Africa's adopting a hybrid language, part English and part Afrikaans. It must be assumed, therefore, that the phrase stigmatises dual- or parallel-medium experiments in education, which seek to make our children bilingual. If this is so, the Association deprecates strongly an objection to strengthening the bonds of nationhood between the Afrikaans- and English-speaking sections of our South African community.

'What, further, is an "unmixed" culture? The Association believes that the culture of South Africa is based on that of Western Europe, itself a richly interwoven texture of national designs, fused with the life and thought, the aspiration and soul of Christian and pre-Christian Judaea, of Greece and of Rome. Naturally our way of life in South Africa has evolved our own culture-patterns of living, thought and art, and these are

dear to the hearts of all South Africans. However, they are rooted in and fed by Western European culture and if cut adrift from it would be impoverished and degraded. In short, the Association rejects as meaningless the notion of cultural "apartheid".

'What, next, is implied by no "mixture" of religion? As neither the critics of the pamphlet nor, presumably, its authors would wish to draw away Afrikaans- or English-speaking children from the creeds of their parents, the S.A.T.A. can only assume "religion" to be a term very rigidly defined in the pamphlet and defers its view on this point to its criticism of Article 1.

'What, finally, is to be made of the statement, "We will have nothing to do with a mixture of race"? As thinking South Africans in general (both Europeans and Non-European) are agreed that Non-Europeans and Europeans should remain racially distinct, the Association is left to infer that neither now, nor in the years to come, is there to be racial intermixture between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. As the S.A. Teachers' Association upholds the vision and ideal of a South African nation composed of various racial strains, it repudiates as unpatriotic the view that European South Africans of either of the two main stocks should not intermarry.'

218. What was particularly disturbing about the policy statement was the authoritative nature of its sponsorship. Before the end of the year in which it appeared, two of the members of its sponsoring committee were senior ministers in Dr. Malan's Nationalist Cabinet. Very soon, one of them was to be Governor-General of the Union. The statement was published with the authority not only of the Institute, but of the F.A.K. and all its constituent organisations, including the Afrikaans teachers' associations. The chairman of the largest of these societies, the T.O., was vice-chairman of the committee. Behind the F.A.K. was its creator, the Broederbond, of which Dr. Malan was, and

most members of his Cabinet were understood to be, members (as Dr. Verwoerd and most members of his Cabinet now are members).

219. That the essence of C.N.E. is sectionalist separatism was again made clear in an authoritative article⁷² on Christian-National Education in South Africa by Professor J. Ch. Coetzee, Rector of the University of Potchefstroom, and architect-in-chief of the modern Christian-National theory. Speaking of the exponents of C.N.E., Professor Coetzee says⁷³ :

‘For the education of their children they desire a national foundation. By this they mean that their education shall be based and founded on the fact of Dutch South African nationalism. No other national foundation will satisfy them. They desire an education for their children national in character and in aim. They want their children taught their own national language, history, culture, geography, and so on. All their education shall be correlated with this national instruction, and all subjects shall serve this national aim.’

220. The reasons for favouring the single-medium schools are set out later in the same article⁷⁴

‘The exponents of C.N.E. favour national schools in the good sense of the word. Therefore, in South Africa at least, they plead for separate schools for the different national and racial groups: Afrikaans, English, Bantu, Coloured, Indian schools. They demand Afrikaans National schools for their own children. But, once again, they fully accept

72. The Year Book of Education, 1957, pp. 143-150.

73. Loc. cit., p. 146.

74. Loc. cit., pp. 149-150. My underlinings.

the consequence of their demand, which, in South Africa, means the establishment of at least two types of schools for the white population: Afrikaans medium and English medium. In this way, to their point of view and according to their conviction, the two sections of our white population can enjoy their own national education and learn to respect and fully appreciate each other. 'Co-education schools' on national lines will never serve their purpose. Both national groups have each their own descent, language, history, and political institutions, religion and customs, a greater sense of common interest and inter-relation than exist between them and the other groups. Common schools will always be essentially dualistic in character and hence either colourless or Afrikaans-coloured or English-coloured - the necessary consequences of our history for the last century and a half. The creation of a united nation is to their point of view not the obligation of the school but a process of gradual evolution if and when all white South Africans have severed all patriotic connexions with either England or Holland as the case may be. Two national groups of the same ethnic stock, living in the same country, with more or less similar customs and institutions, more or less the same Protestant religion, forming a more or less social homogeneity, with eventually one language and one history, will fuse only by long intercourse and will never be forced by schooling or any mechanical means into unity.'

221. It will be noted that the C.N.E. school accepts no obligation in respect of the building of a united South African nation, though it is not without hope that if only the majority will cleave fast to their sectional loyalty, and if only the minority will cut their 'patriotic connexions' with England, in due course 'national unity' in the form of a nation with one language and one history will evolve, making it unnecessary for the C.N.E. school ever to adapt its outlook to the needs of a plural community.

222. The C.N.E. Policy Statement of 1948 had laid down general principles for the development of education in South Africa. The second event of importance in the sphere of C.N.E., according to Professor Coetzee⁷⁵, had been the intimate co-operation of the three Dutch Reformed Churches in the formulation of a policy for the application of these principles in practice. The Inter-Church Committee published a memorandum⁷⁶ in 1955, ostensibly designed to end the evils of 'divided control' in secondary education - technical education at this level having been provided by autonomous technical colleges aided by grants from the central government Department of Education, Arts and Science, while general secondary education was controlled by the Provinces. The Memorandum recommended, as a first step towards a general reorganisation of the educational system, the taking over of the Technical Colleges by the state. Within weeks of the publication of the Memorandum, the Technical College principals were to be taken over and conducted as government institutions. The Memorandum also recommended that the formulation of educational policy for Coloured and Indian schools as well as White schools, should be a function of the central government, advised by a Union Education Board. The provinces would manage their schools in accordance with the policy laid down centrally. The Technical Colleges - at secondary level - would then come under provincial management, thus ending divided control.

75. Coetzee, J. Chr., loc. cit.

76. Memorandum insake die Behoefde aan 'n Uniale Onderwys-beleid en die Beeindiging van die Huidige Stelsel van Verdeelde Beheer t.o.v. Middelbare Onderwys.

223. The central government then invited the Provincial administrations to comment on these proposals. The Natal administration was strongly opposed to surrendering its control of educational policy. Since that time a National Education Advisory Council has been set up, to which reference will be made in a later section. Control of the education of Coloured children was taken over from the Provinces in 1964. This year, in terms of the Indians Education Act of 1965, control of the education of Indian children also passes from the Provinces to the central government. Control of African education went in 1954 in terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

IX

Medium of instruction. Extension of home-language principle to secondary school. Present provision.

Parental option in Natal. Statistics.

224. It has been recorded earlier that the efforts to foster dual-medium education made by the three Provincial Councils under United Party control came to an end soon after the assumption of power by the Nationalist Party in Parliament in 1948. In the Transvaal, the United Party had realised, even before the change of government, that its drive for a full 50-50 dual-medium system was unrealistically ambitious, and it had reduced the time allocation for second-medium instruction to almost token proportions by an Ordinance in 1948 which was disallowed by the Nationalist Government after it came to power. A Nationalist Provincial Council passed a new Language Ordinance in 1949 which discarded the full double-medium provisions of the 1945 Ordinance and the small double-medium provisions of the 1948 Ordinance and instead provided for compulsory single-medium home-language instruction up to Standard VIII (10th school year)⁷⁷. Formerly, Transvaal schools, and South African schools generally, had had an eight-year primary course ending at Standard VI followed by a four-year secondary course ending with the matriculation

77. Transvaal Education Dept. Education Bulletin, vol. II, no.1, March 1957, p. 16.

examination in Standard X. At times which varied from Province to Province, the present 'reorganised' system of seven primary years followed by five secondary years was introduced. It was unsatisfactory that the change from compulsory mother-tongue medium to parental option should take place after Standard VI, i.e. at the end of the first secondary year, and proposals that compulsion should end after Standard V, i.e. at the end of the new primary course, were rejected in favour of the extension of compulsion to Standard VIII, which meant, practically, the application of compulsory home-language medium throughout the years of compulsory attendance.

225. Transvaal: The legal position in respect of medium of instruction in Transvaal schools is as prescribed in Chapter IV (Language and Education) of the Education Ordinance, Ordinance No. 29 of 1953⁷⁸.

In summary, the main provisions are as follows:

- i. A pupil must receive his education through the medium of his home language up to and including Standard VIII. (Section 56(1)).
- ii. The parent chooses the language which he wishes to be regarded as the home language of the pupil; and the principal, if satisfied after investigation as to the pupil's knowledge of the languages, confirms the choice, or, if he disagrees, refers the case to the inspector of education who (subject to an appeal to the Director) 'shall determine which of the two languages...shall be the home language of such pupil...'

78. Copy in Appendix.

- iii. The 'home language' chosen for the purposes of the Ordinance must be one of the two official languages....
- iv. In the case of private schools, state subsidies may not be drawn in respect to schools or classes in which a language other than one of the official languages is the medium. (This affects 2 German and 2 Chinese schools in the Transvaal).
- v. If an immigrant pupil has no knowledge of English or Afrikaans the Director may determine which of the two official languages is to be regarded as the pupil's home language. (Section 57, 3(b)).
- vi. 'The present policy⁷⁹ in the Transvaal is to establish new single-medium schools where possible. Dual medium schools are no longer part of the policy, and parallel-medium schools are separated into two single-medium schools in each case as soon as enrolment justifies such separation.'

226. The number of Transvaal schools in each category is as set out in the Table below⁸⁰.

Single-medium				Dual-medium	Parallel-medium
Afrikaans		English			
Primary	200	Primary	129	Nil	371
High	61	High	44	Nil	49
		Inter-mediate	1	Nil	8

79. Reply to Questionnaire.

80. Reply to Questionnaire.

227. More comprehensive statistics are given later in this section for all Provinces.

229. Orange Free State: The Education Ordinance, 1954 (Ordinance 16/1954) lays down the legal basis for education in the Orange Free State. Chapter G. - Language in Education - deals with language medium and language instruction. The provisions are briefly as follows:

- i. 'The medium of instruction of every pupil in all the standards of a public or aided school up to and including the eighth standard shall be the official language which has, in terms of section fifty, been determined the home language of such pupil...'
- ii. The home language of a pupil is that official language which the principal teacher of a school has, on admission of such pupil to such school, determined as the official language best spoken and understood by the pupil; provided that if, in the opinion of such principal teacher, such pupil is equally proficient in both languages, or is not capable of speaking or understanding either of the two official languages, the parent of such pupil shall determine which of the official languages shall be the home language of such pupil.
- iii. (1) 'Adequate provision shall be made for instruction through the medium of both official languages by means of -
 - a) single medium schools, where one of the official languages shall be the only medium of instruction;
 - b) parallel classes in -

- i) primary schools or divisions;
provided that the number of pupils
who form the minority group and
have to be instructed through the
medium of the second official lan-
guage, shall be at least thirteen;
 - ii) secondary schools or divisions in
which the number of pupils in the
two language groups justifies it
and the organisation of the school
allows it;
 - c) teachers qualified to give instruction
through the medium of both official lan-
guages provided that, with the approval
of the Administrator, instruction in
standards nine and ten in any school may
be given through the medium of one official
language in certain subjects and through
the medium of the other official language
in certain other subjects.
- (2) A parallel-medium school may continue as such
as long as it is justified by the number of
pupils on the school roll and it is approved
by the Administrator; provided that a parallel-
medium school may be divided into single-
medium schools by the Administrator, but only
after consultation with the committee and board
concerned, or with the governing body concerned.'

230. The number of schools in each category is as follows⁸¹:

Afrikaans-medium schools	36
English-medium schools.. .. .	6
Schools with parallel classes	41
Schools without parallel classes	208

81. Reply to Questionnaire.

231. Cape Province: Ordinance No. 20 of 1956 - the Education Ordinance, 1956 - lays down the legal basis for education in the Cape Province. Chapter 17 deals with the official languages as media and subjects of instruction.

The main provisions are:

- i. 'The medium of instruction of every pupil in all standards in a school up to and including the eighth standard shall be either Afrikaans or English according to which of these languages he knows better.'
- ii. If provision must be made in a school for the use of both English and Afrikaans as media of instruction, such provision shall be made.⁸²
 - 'a) by means of parallel classes in the standards up to and including the fifth⁸³ standard if in such standards the total number of pupils in each of the two language groups is at least fifteen, and by means of parallel classes in the sixth, seventh and eighth standards if in any such standard the number of pupils in each of the two language groups is at least ten;
 - 'b) in cases not described in paragraph (a), by means of parallel classes if the existing organisation of the school permits, and otherwise through teachers qualified to instruct through both media.'
- iii. The medium in the ninth and tenth standards shall be Afrikaans or English as the parent may elect... and if provision must be made in these standards for the use of both media, such provision shall be made
 - a) by means of parallel classes if in such standards the total number of pupils in each of the two language groups is at least ten;
 - b) otherwise, as in ii(b) above.

82. Ordinance, Section 182(2).

83. My underlinings.

- iv. The Department may in respect of any school decide that only pupils whose medium of instruction is to be Afrikaans or only pupils whose medium of instruction is to be English shall be enrolled therein⁸⁴.

232. Natal: The limited compulsory dual-medium experiment in Natal was terminated by Ordinance No. 10 of 1950. Otherwise, the position in respect of medium of instruction in Natal is still that set out in Section 11 of the Education Ordinance - No. 23 of 1942, i.e.:

'11. (1) The medium of instruction of every pupil in every Government school for Europeans shall, subject to the provisions of sub-section (2) and Section 12, be that official language selected by the parent. The parent shall make the selection on the pupil's admission to such a school, and when the option of the parent has been exercised and carried out, no change shall be made in regard to the medium of instruction in respect of such pupil until the end of the school year, save in special circumstances and with the approval of the district inspector of schools.

(2) If, in any primary or secondary school, it be found that the medium of instruction of the minority of the pupils requires to be one official language and that of the majority the other official language, the provisions of sub-section (1) shall be deemed to be sufficiently complied with -

- (a) where the minority is less than fifteen pupils, if that minority is instructed in the same manner as the majority; and
- (b) where the minority is fifteen or more pupils, if that minority is instructed by means of parallel medium classes, or in such other manner as may be approved by the Administrator after consideration of each individual case.

84. Section 184.

If such pupils aforesaid are in equal numbers, provision shall be made as nearly as possible as hereinbefore provided, or otherwise as may be approved by the Administrator.

(3) If the parent of any pupil fails to exercise his right of choice in terms of sub-section (1), such pupil shall, subject to the provisions of sub-section (2) and section 12, be instructed through the official language best known and understood by him.'

233. As Natal's system of 'parental option' has continued to be the subject of controversy, the following direction was given in the Schools Handbook in 1955 in order to make sure that no parent should remain in ignorance of ill-effects, if any, of his choice of medium for his child:

'If at the end of his first six months in the school, or at the end of any school year thereafter, a child's work appears to his class teacher to be generally unsatisfactory because of, or largely because of his inadequate knowledge of the language chosen as medium, the class teacher shall report the matter to the Principal, and the Principal shall give his personal consideration to the child's difficulties; and if the Principal finds that the child is seriously handicapped in his work because of the language chosen as medium and is likely to continue to be so handicapped for some time he shall inform the parents in writing of the extent of the child's difficulties.

Advice may be given, on request, where parents are in doubt but when the parents have given their decision it shall be accepted.'

234. Assessments of degree of bilingualism, as made by the teachers themselves, are recorded of teachers at present in Natal Provincial Schools as tabulated below. Some teachers comfortably settled in single-medium city schools have been known to underassess their bilingualism with the object of

minimising the possibility of transfer to parallel schools in smaller and socially less attractive areas. But as bilingualism is an important qualification for promotion, assessments are usually reasonably reliable.

Language Proficiency:	EA	Ae	Ea	A	E	Totals
High School Teachers:	680	47	317	2	277	1323
Primary School Teachers:	922	113	520	3	489	2047

Key to symbols:

EA or AE = competent to teach through both media;

Ae = competent to use both media but more suitable for Afrikaans medium schools and classes;

Ea = as for Ae but more suitable for English medium schools and classes;

A = competent to teach through medium of Afrikaans only;

E = competent to teach through medium of English only.

Note: These symbols are awarded by the teachers themselves as constituting their own estimates of their competency.

235. As Natal is the only province in which medium is still based on parental option, the question arises from time to time of the number of pupils enrolled in a medium other than their home language. As no note is made of home language on admission, no statistics are available, but observation over the years in the schools would indicate that the proportion of Afrikaans-speaking children enrolled in English-medium classes has been gradually declining and is at present very small.

236. The Natal Provincial Council favours, in theory, parallel-medium schools. The principle propounded by the majority United Party is that the schools should 'bring the children of the two groups together.' In practice, development in Natal has not in recent years differed much from that in the other provinces. In the smaller centres of population, in Natal as elsewhere in South Africa, the local White school, primary or secondary, tends to be the school of all the children of the local White population. If both language groups are so represented in the local population that there are at least fifteen applications for enrolment in the medium of the minority, the school will be parallel. If there are fewer than fifteen applications from the minority, the school will open as a single-medium institution. But if at any subsequent time, applications are received on behalf of fifteen or more pupils for instruction in the minority medium, the applications must be accepted, and instruction for these children in the medium chosen by their parents must be provided. Such fifteen or more children would be instructed in one group, irrespective of standard, (as in a one-teacher single-medium country school) or in more than one group, depending on their numbers.

237. When primary schools, in country areas not within reach of high schools, become established and reach a certain size, applications are often received from the parents for the provision of secondary education at the local school - as a

first step towards the establishment in due course of a local high school. To give some guarantee of continuity, the following minimum requirements have been laid down:

- '(i) Where future secondary classes are established, such establishment must be on the following basis:
 - (a) The full range of Standard VII to Standard X inclusive in the same school will be granted for single medium instruction where the enrolment for Standard VII is 50 pupils, and this guarantee of the full range will continue in respect of all future Standard VII classes at that school provided the numbers in Standard VII do not fall below 45 pupils.
 - (b) Should the parents express the wish for dual medium instruction and agree to its establishment, such secondary classes may be established provided the total number of pupils is as in (a) above.
 - (c) For the establishment of parallel medium facilities, each medium in a new school will be treated as for single medium as in (a) above.
 - (d) In an existing school with single medium secondary classes the establishment figure for the second medium will be 40 pupils with a retention figure of 35. If a guarantee of full range in the second medium is required, single medium conditions must be fulfilled.
 - (ii) In an established parallel medium school the retention figure in each medium will be 35 pupils in Standard VII but no guarantee of separate medium facilities can be given unless the minimum requirements of single medium instruction in (i) (a) above are fulfilled.'
- (N.B. While in the cities the primary course ends at Standard V, most country schools in Natal still retain Standard VI).

238. In the cities the question 'single-medium or parallel?' does not answer itself as automatically as in the country. It is here that United Party policy and practice seem divergent. While 'bringing the two sections together' is a principle still strongly emphasised, in practice nearly every school opened in the two cities in the past decade has been a single-medium school.

239. Early provision for Afrikaans-medium classes in the Durban-Pinetown area had been in parallel-medium schools - former English-medium schools to which Afrikaans-medium classes were added as the new population moved in. By the late 'thirties, central Afrikaans-medium enrolments had grown sufficiently to justify the building of a school of urban size, and the Port Natal school was built. The parents wanted 'a school of their own', and as Durban had many English single-medium schools it would have been discriminatory to reject the request. It was not, of course, intended as an indication that all future development should be on separatist lines. In the 'forties, a few more schools in growth areas became parallel in organisation. But since then growth has tended more and more to be in the form of separate schools. The most important reason for this development has been the steady pressure from Afrikaans parents' committees and other organisations - their spokesmen often prominent members of the F.A.K.'s local Skakelkomitee ('Link Committee', co-ordinating local activities on all 'fronts'). As an example of the co-ordination involved

the case may be cited of a new high school due to be opened on the Bluff in January, 1957. It was designed to be a parallel-medium school, both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking people residing in large numbers in the area. The posts of principal and vice-principal were advertised, full bilinguality being made an essential qualification in both cases. The principal of every primary school on the Bluff was informed that from January 1957 his school would lose its Standard VI, but that there would be accommodation for Standard VI and Standard VII pupils from all Bluff schools, in both media, at the high school. Enrolments were invited. What then happened was that a large proportion of the English-medium children in the schools of the area enrolled in the new high school but that, presumably as a result of outside organisation (though no organisation 'surfaced') not one Afrikaans-medium pupil from any school in the area made application for admission. The parents preferred, or allowed themselves to be induced, to send their children past the new school to take their places in temporary classrooms in a more-than-comfortably full single-medium school some miles away in the city. As a consequence, the new school became purely English-medium in organisation. In due course, another new high school became necessary to remedy the overcrowding at the existing Afrikaans high school. While theoretically open to children of both groups, judiciously announced transfers of only Afrikaans-medium classes to it caused the news to go round that the new school was to be Afrikaans-medium, and such it became. The pattern, or something

like it, has been repeated, Present indications are that existing single-medium schools in the cities will remain stably single-medium, and that new development in the cities will also be single-medium.

240. The present writer regrets the tacit abandonment of the parallel principle. He realises, however, that the success of a parallel-medium school, like that of dual-medium classes, depends on the willing co-operation of both groups. If people believe that they can best learn to 'respect and appreciate each other' by using separate schools, forcing them into common schools is likely to produce disappointing results. It is, in any case, impossible while an all-powerful central government stands behind the separatists. The writer also feels that the issue is no longer as significant as it was a generation ago. The more 'White unity' acquires the connotation of 'White unity in the face of the Black danger', the less valuable the concept becomes for the future of South Africa.

241. Even opponents generally concede the Natal Administration a creditable record for making appointments to provincial posts on merit and without group bias. And successive Administrations have generally tried to deal justly with the educational claims of all sections of the community, as they saw them. But they have not always shown the combination of sympathy and imagination necessary to win the confidence of other groups. It was understandable, if unimaginative, that the first Afrikaans-medium classes in Pietermaritzburg away back in 1922 should

have been housed in unsuitable rooms in an old hotel - all existing classrooms in the hitherto purely English-medium schools were full. What was bad was that immediate steps were not taken to provide suitable accommodation, and that parental agitation backed by public procession should have seemed necessary before suitable accommodation in the form of a new separate Afrikaans-medium school was provided. The delay spoiled the atmosphere. The new school was occupied in due course by the 'victors' of a 'struggle for their rights', rather than by citizens accepting a normal service to which they were entitled and which had been readily provided for them. The agitation and the procession became part of the legend of the school. English-speaking communities in Natal have on occasion had to wait longer for essential services, as, no doubt, have Afrikaans-speaking communities in other Provinces, but in such cases the basis for sectional agitation did not exist. A similar lack of imagination was shown in the early 1940s, when it was proposed to deal with the overcrowding of the Afrikaans-medium school by the transfer of its junior classes to an English-medium school - which would then become a parallel-medium school - although its principal was unilingual and it was not proposed to transfer her. Parents who might have been open-minded about parallel schools in general were not enamoured of that kind of parallelism, and strength was given to the C.N.E. movement which, organised largely from the other provinces, set up an opposition C.N.O. school and opposed parallelism root and branch.

242. It should be pointed out that the secondary courses in provincial schools are general, i.e. non-vocational in character. A limited number of 'pre-vocational' subjects, e.g. Bookkeeping, Shorthand and Typewriting, Geometrical Drawing may be included in a pupil's general course, but courses of a technical or commercial character are provided outside the provincial system in technical high schools and other institutions conducted by the central Government's Department of Education, Arts and Science. As might be expected, these schools are to be found in cities and selected towns, but boarding facilities are usually available for pupils from other areas. Home-language medium is the rule in schools conducted by Education, Arts and Science. Details of enrolment in each medium in these schools, and in other schools conducted by the Department of Education, Arts and Science, are given in Table J. Other statistical information referring to language medium - in provincial schools - is given as follows:

Table A: Number of pupils according to medium of instruction and control of school, 1947-1963.

Table B: Number of pupils according to medium of instruction, Standard and control of school.

Table C: Number of pupils, according to area, medium of instruction, province and control of state and state-aided schools (not private, unsubsidised schools).

Table L: (a) Bilingualism of Teachers; (b) Home Languages of Teachers; (c) Home languages of Teachers: Percentages*.

* Tables A, B and C from Bureau of Statistics, Report No. 285, Statistics of Schools, 1963 and Earlier Years: Whites, Government Printer, Pretoria. Table L from figures supplied by Education Departments.

TABLE A

NUMBER OF PUPILS ACCORDING TO MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND CONTROL OF SCHOOL, 1947-1963

Year	AFRIKAANS					ENGLISH					OTHER (incl. dual medium)				
	All schools	Prov. schools	Prov.-aided schools	Private schools	All schools	Prov. schools	Prov.-aided schools	Private schools	All schools	Prov. schools	Prov.-aided schools	Private schools	All schools	Prov. schools	Private schools
1947	267,809		267,786	23	166,002	136,941	29,061	22,546	17,726	4,820					
1948	274,651		274,624	27	167,463	138,652	28,811	26,249	21,558	4,691					
1949	287,130		287,105	25	172,858	143,028	29,830	23,907	18,958	4,949					
1950	298,582		298,559	23	187,228	156,725	30,503	17,426	12,365	5,061					
1951	319,059		319,037	22	198,024	167,539	30,485	16,798	11,739	5,059					
1952	330,831		330,809	22	205,026	172,073	32,953	18,179	12,709	5,470					
1953	348,291		348,267	24	217,461	183,554	33,907	10,152	4,237	5,915					
1954	361,100		361,075	25	224,090	190,493	33,597	10,280	4,428	5,852					
1955	377,142	373,833	3,285	24	228,698	175,753	17,271	35,674	10,131	3,485	509	6,137			
1956	386,975	382,233	4,719	23	233,638	181,671	16,531	35,436	8,892	2,471	538	5,883			
1957	396,502	393,957	2,520	25	240,553	186,372	17,154	37,027	8,080	1,979	483	5,618			
1958	402,688	400,665	2,000	23	248,248	193,527	16,409	38,312	7,374	1,071	506	5,797			
1959	413,668	411,784	1,860	24	254,110	197,448	17,545	39,117	7,758	1,411	461	5,886			
1960	425,486	423,042	2,422	22	259,291	201,425	17,108	40,758	7,659	1,165	384	6,110			
1961	436,024	433,921	2,080	23	261,659	203,308	17,423	40,928	7,675	1,162	377	6,136			
1962	446,880	444,505	2,314	61	263,406	206,283	16,889	40,234	8,334	1,119	688	6,527			
1963	455,832	451,513	2,490	1,829	271,438	210,870	14,743	45,825	3,077	1,592	455	1,030			

TABLE B

NUMBER OF PUPILS ACCORDING TO MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION, STANDARD AND CONTROL OF SCHOOL, 1963.

Medium of Instruction	Total	STANDARD										Unk.		
		Sub. A	Sub. B	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII		IX	X
ALL SCHOOLS														
Total	730,347	76,333	72,542	72,142	69,319	67,635	63,755	60,166	63,045	60,477	48,954	33,917	24,475	17,587
Afrikaans	455,832	49,202	46,500	46,143	44,481	43,051	39,665	36,995	38,322	36,677	28,468	19,150	14,120	13,058
English	271,438	26,746	25,697	25,695	24,496	24,333	23,886	23,046	24,656	23,524	20,254	14,540	10,179	4,386
Eng. and Afr.	2,190	174	136	156	190	160	130	125	67	276	232	227	175	142
Other	887	211	209	148	152	91	74	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS														
Total	663,975	69,708	66,471	66,079	63,709	61,999	58,069	54,301	57,069	54,792	43,639	29,890	21,156	17,098
Afrikaans	451,513	48,857	46,199	45,778	44,119	42,677	39,341	36,671	37,892	36,259	28,114	18,781	13,817	13,008
English	210,870	20,715	20,138	20,176	19,462	19,219	18,636	17,556	19,123	18,312	15,355	10,930	7,222	4,026
Eng. and Afr.	1,393	71	68	93	88	103	92	74	54	221	170	179	117	63
Other	199	65	66	32	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
PROVINCIAL-AIDED SCHOOLS														
Total	17,688	1,625	1,633	1,692	1,593	1,667	1,627	1,619	1,403	1,345	1,290	1,086	839	269
Afrikaans	2,490	168	142	228	177	188	163	153	234	276	236	277	200	48
English	14,743	1,352	1,385	1,390	1,342	1,427	1,420	1,466	1,169	1,069	1,054	809	639	221
Eng. and Afr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	455	105	106	74	74	52	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PRIVATE SCHOOLS														
Total	48,684	5,000	4,438	4,371	4,022	3,969	4,059	4,246	4,573	4,340	4,025	2,941	2,480	220
Afrikaans	1,829	177	159	137	185	186	161	171	196	142	118	92	103	2
English	45,825	4,679	4,174	4,129	3,692	3,687	3,830	4,024	4,364	4,143	3,845	2,801	2,318	139
Eng. and Afr.	797	103	68	63	102	57	38	51	13	55	62	48	58	79
Other	233	41	37	42	43	39	30	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

TABLE C

NUMBER OF PUPILS ACCORDING TO AREA, MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION,
PROVINCE AND CONTROL OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Province	Grand Total	CITY					
		Tot.	Afri- kaans	En- glish	Paral- lel(a)	Paral- lel(b)	Other
1963							
TOTAL							
Tot.	681,663	366,868	148,432	155,181	48,177	14,150	928
Cape	207,826	87,406	17,710	37,910	28,583	3,203	-
Natal	71,839	47,825	6,974	34,321	6,530	-	-
Transvaal	336,611	217,035	118,856	80,758	10,286	6,207	928
O.F.S.	65,387	14,602	4,892	2,192	2,778	4,740	-
PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS							
Tot.	663,975	356,065	148,432	146,378	48,150	13,105	-
Cape	200,049	83,541	17,710	34,183	28,583	3,065	-
Natal	66,268	45,050	6,974	31,546	6,530	-	-
Transvaal	333,559	214,160	118,856	78,811	10,286	6,207	-
O.F.S.	64,099	13,314	4,892	1,838	2,751	3,833	-
PROVINCIAL-AIDED SCHOOLS							
Tot.	17,688	10,803	-	8,803	27	1,045	928
Cape	7,777	3,865	-	3,727	-	138	-
Natal	5,571	2,775	-	2,775	-	-	-
Transvaal	3,052	2,875	-	1,947	-	-	-
O.F.S.	1,288	1,288	-	354	27	907	028

TOWN					
Tot.	Afri- kaans	En- glish	Paral- lel(a)	Paral- lel(b)	Other
1963					
TOTAL					
249,726	55,005	21,029	102,492	71,007	193
99,733	30,049	7,906	41,436	20,342	-
20,573	164	5,264	14,720	232	193
85,780	22,237	6,664	26,389	30,490	-
43,640	2,555	1,195	19,947	19,943	-
PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS					
244,859	54,979	18,186	100,683	70,818	193
96,883	30,049	7,054	39,627	20,153	-
18,646	164	3,337	14,720	232	193
85,690	2,221	6,600	26,389	30,490	-
43,640	2,555	1,195	19,947	19,943	-
PROVINCIAL-AIDED SCHOOLS					
4,867	26	2,843	1,809	189	-
2,850	-	852	1,809	189	-
1,927	-	1,927	-	-	-
90	26	64	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-

RURAL AREA					
Tot.	Afri- kaans	En- glish	Paral- lel(a)	Paral- lel(b)	Other
1963					
TOTAL					
65,069	20,627	3,397	12,651	28,130	264
20,687	14,961	540	3,320	1,866	-
3,441	427	1,918	497	335	264
33,796	5,229	939	5,659	21,969	-
7,145	10	-	3,175	3,960	-
PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS					
63,051	19,662	2,394	12,601	28,130	264
19,625	14,083	406	3,270	1,866	-
2,572	427	1,049	497	335	264
33,709	5,142	939	5,659	21,969	-
7,145	10	-	3,175	3,960	-
PROVINCIAL-AIDED SCHOOLS					
2,018	965	1,003	50	-	-
1,062	878	134	50	-	-
869	-	869	-	-	-
87	87	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE L

(a) Bilingualism of Teachers in Service

	AE	Ae	Ea	A	E	Not known	Total
Cape	3,777	3,897	1,152	73	136	393	9,428
Natal	1,602	160	837	5	766	-	3,370
O.F.S.	No statistics available. All 'expected to be bilingual.'						
Transvaal	4,198	6,425	1,344	129	300	287	12,683

(b) Home Languages of Teachers

	A	E	A & E	Other	Total
Cape	7,008	2,177	178	65	9,428
Natal	929	2056	66	118*	3169
O.F.S.	3,130	151	34	14	3,329
Transvaal	10,021	2,324	222	116	12,683

(c) Home Languages of Teachers: Percentages

	A	E	A & E	Other	Total
Cape	74.3	23.1	1.9	.7	100
O.F.S.	94.0	4.5	1.0	.5	100
Transvaal	79.0	18.3	1.8	.9	100

NATAL. 29.3 64.9 2.1 3.7* 100.

* Under 'other', 96 or 39% German speaks.

X

Instruction in the Second Language

243. Instruction in the second official language is compulsory in all primary and secondary Standards in all provinces. Exemptions are given in exceptional cases, e.g. children of diplomatic and consular staff and others in short-term temporary residence in South Africa; or secondary pupils (e.g. children of immigrants) who have come to the secondary school without having had the opportunity to learn the second language at primary level and who therefore cannot reasonably be expected to reach senior-certificate level in it in the few secondary years. (Some such children accept the challenge and outshine many of the locals, four years of motivated effort giving better results than ten years of mere 'getting by'.)

244. Instruction in the second language begins at an early stage, sometimes as early as the middle of the first school year. In the Cape it must begin 'not later than the beginning of the second school year'. In Natal it is optional in the second school year and becomes compulsory from the beginning of the third school year, i.e. in Standard I (median age 7.8 years). Regulations in Natal require that a minimum time of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week in Standards I and II, and a minimum time of four hours per week in Standards III, IV and V be devoted to second-language instruction. It is

further stipulated that at least half-an-hour must be given to the subject each day. The school week for Standards I to V is of 25 hours. The secondary school week is of $27\frac{1}{2}$ hours and provides for forty 40-minute periods of instruction, not including morning assemblies. Of these periods eight are set aside for non-examination subjects (Religious Education, Health Education, Music, Art, Handicrafts, etc.), leaving 32 periods for six examination subjects to be taken ultimately in the Senior Certificate examination. Of these 32 periods, at least 5 must be devoted to instruction in the second language. A pass in the second language in Standard VI is essential for allocation to the Advanced Stream in Standards VII to X, i.e. the academic stream pursuing courses leading to a university entrance qualification. Save for exemptions already referred to, all pupils must take the second language as one of their examination subjects in the Senior Certificate examination. Transvaal allocates more time to the teaching of the second language in primary schools than Natal - 3 hours weekly in the sub-standards, 4 hours in Standards I and II, $4\frac{1}{4}$ hours in Standards II and IV and $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours in Standard V.

245. Primary schools are usually organised on the assumption that a class will be allocated to each teacher, and that the class teacher will take her class for all general subjects, i.e. all subjects except those requiring specialised training

and equipment, such as woodwork or domestic science. Some class teachers take their own classes for instruction in the second language. Many English-medium primary schools prefer to have Afrikaans specialist teachers, usually, but not invariably, teachers whose home language is Afrikaans. This organisation is necessary where the class teachers are not sufficiently bilingual to do justice to the second language. But many principals prefer it on its merits. The good specialist develops specialised skills which often lead to better results than the general practitioner can produce. And there are advantages to be gained from the association of the language with a teacher who speaks it as her home language. There are, of course, teachers who teach their second language admirably, and others who teach their own language ineffectively. From the earliest possible stage, the 'direct method' is used, i.e. the second language is taught, as far as possible, through the medium of the second language.

246. In the secondary schools, the organisation is on the specialist-teacher basis. While a teacher may have general supervisory responsibilities in respect of a class which he sees perhaps only once a day, his instructional duties are confined to the subject, or couple of subjects, in which he has special qualifications. The 'Afrikaans specialist' teaching Afrikaans as second language and the 'English specialist' teaching English as second language, are therefore

part of the normal specialist organisation of the school.

Teachers are expected to teach for about 34 of the 40 weekly periods. Some principals allow second-language teachers one or two additional 'free' periods to compensate for the more-than-average burden of correction of pupils' written work.

In English-medium high schools, the Afrikaans teacher is usually, but not invariably, Afrikaans-speaking. In Afrikaans-medium high schools the English specialist in Natal is likely to be English-speaking, though he may be Afrikaans-speaking. But he will usually be adequately qualified for his work. An examination of Table D, however, will show that most teaching of English in rural areas outside Natal must be done by Afrikaans-speaking teachers, and an examination of the language qualifications shown in section VIII indicates that many of them must be indifferently qualified.

247. It is difficult to be dogmatic about the level of achievement in the second language expected at different points in the school career. Individual differences in linguistic ability probably vary as widely as intelligence quotients, and it will have been clear from previous sections that ability in the use of the second language often depends very substantially on circumstances outside the school. But by

Standard V, the Cape Department expects ⁸⁵ pupils to be able to

- a) understand the spoken language with facility;
- b) converse freely in simple language within their range of interests and experience;
- c) read and understand English/Afrikaans commensurate with their mental development; and
- d) write simple English/Afrikaans with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

The Transvaal Department would expect a pupil at this stage to have a second-language vocabulary approximately 1 to 1½ years behind his first-language vocabulary.

A pass in both languages in Standard VIII is a requirement for junior clerks in the post office and in the railway service as well as for a number of other junior clerical appointments. Their command of the second language usually proves adequate for the telegram counter and, with a little practice, for the telephone exchange.

At Standard X level a useful degree of bilingualism is expected. In the Senior Certificate examination the second language is tested orally as well as by written papers and students are expected to converse fairly fluently and without gross idiomatic mistakes on topics of general interest. The

85. Languages in the Primary School, Departmental Syllabuses, 1964.

better students (e.g. those who do well enough in the examination generally to gain admission to the dual-medium Veterinary Surgeons Course at Onderstepoort) find that they can follow the lectures in both languages at such an institution with only minor difficulties in the first stages of the course. Many students change medium on going to the university, without apparent handicap. A pass in the Senior Certificate in both languages (one on the higher, one on the lower grade) is a requirement for appointment to Public Service clerkships. Such clerks are expected to be able to write their second language with reasonable correctness. But 'reasonable' is a word capable of wide interpretation. Confident bilingualism usually comes only after considerable experience of the use of both languages outside the classroom.

248. Some English single-medium schools in Natal conduct morning assembly once, or, more rarely, twice a week in Afrikaans. Apart from incidental learning from the hymns learnt and sung and from the ceremony generally, the practice gives extra-classroom recognition to the subject. But its value should not be overestimated. Assembly can be an occasion when pupils' minds wander.

249. In parallel-medium schools, teachers coaching teams usually use their own home language. This practice is also often found in English-medium schools which have Afrikaans staff members, particularly at high school level. Depending

on the general usefulness and character of the teacher for its effectiveness, the practice can give valuable practice in co-operation as well as incidental linguistic profit.

250. School concerts at single-medium schools usually present some items in the second language and some of the songs learnt in the music lessons at most schools reflect the same inclusive spirit.

The Teaching Establishment. Reasons for
Afrikaner Preponderance. Some effects of this.

251. Inspection of Tables B, D and E will show that there is no overall shortage of teachers in the White schools of South Africa. In the Provincial schools there were, in 1963, 28,289 teachers and 663,975 pupils, an average of 23.5 pupils per teacher. In the Provincial-Aided schools there were 947 teachers and 17,688 pupils (average 19), and in the Private schools 2,155 teachers and 48,684 pupils (average 22.5). The Natal Provincial school figures were 3,170 teachers and 73,818 pupils (average 23.3). As these figures include both primary and secondary classes, it will be seen that they compare quite favourably with averages in other developed education systems. Of 31,391 teachers in South African White schools, 29,685 held recognised professional qualifications. The usual professional qualification of the secondary teacher is the one-year postgraduate University Education Diploma. The usual qualification of the primary teacher is a diploma based on two or three years of post-Senior Certificate study (two years in the case of most of the older women teachers). Of the 31,391 teachers employed in 1963, 9,427, or 30 per cent, were university graduates.

252. This is not to say that the supply of teachers presents no problems. As in many other countries, the teaching profession is no longer drawing the same proportion of the abler

university students as it drew before the Second World War. As in other countries also, it is having difficulty in attracting students with adequate qualifications in science and mathematics. The basic reason is that, with the expansion and diversification of the industrial activity of the country, a much more varied field of employment is opening up for all graduates, and particularly for those with scientific qualifications.

253. These general observations are relevant to this report only as part of the background against which other surpluses and shortages must be sketched in. In a survey of high-school staffs conducted by the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research in 1961, it was found that English (519 posts), Afrikaans (425), Mathematics (326) and Physical Science (291) were the subjects with the largest numbers of 'unsatisfactorily filled posts', i.e. posts filled by teachers without a university or other specialist qualification in the subject taught ⁸⁶. In assessing the significance of the shortage of 'satisfactorily qualified' teachers of the two languages it is important to have in mind that practically all of the 'unsatisfactorily qualified' teachers of Afrikaans were teachers whose home language was Afrikaans and whose classroom speech was therefore the Afrikaans of educated Afrikaners,

86. A Survey of the Training and Employment of Scientists and Engineers in South Africa, Part I, 1961, Table 47.

whereas a very substantial proportion of the 'unsatisfactorily qualified' teachers of English lacked any such compensatory home or school background; for the number of English-speaking teachers in relation to the number of English-speaking pupils is disproportionately low.

254. Examination of the figures in Table D shows that the distribution of 'English-speaking' and 'Afrikaans-speaking' teachers in Provincial schools in 1963 was as follows:

<u>Teachers, by home language</u>				
	Afrikaans	English	Other	Total
City	8,587	5,016	514	14,117
Town	9,595	1,312	237	11,144
<u>Rural</u>	<u>2,767</u>	<u>192</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>3,028</u>
Total	20,949	6,520	820	28,289

Expressed in percentages, these figures give us

	Afrikaans	English	Other
City	60.8	35.5	3.7
Town	86.1	11.8	2.1
<u>Rural</u>	<u>91.4</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Total	74.1	23.0	2.9

Table A shows 451,513 Afrikaans-medium pupils and 210,870 English-medium pupils in Provincial schools. The

percentages are 68.2 and 31.8. On the assumption that the staffing of the schools should be roughly in these proportions, there would seem to be a shortage of over two thousand English-speaking teachers and a surplus of the same magnitude of Afrikaans-speaking teachers. A shortage of such proportions in the minority group weakens very considerably the contribution which that group can make to the shaping of the educational policies of the country. It has, of course, serious adverse effects on the work in the English-medium schools, the more so in view of the fact that the shortage is more particularly a shortage of men. Table K⁸⁷ shows the masculinity of the permanent staff employed a) in Afrikaans-medium, b) in English-medium and c) in parallel- and double-medium high schools. From this table it will be observed that the masculinity of the staffs of the English-medium high schools in all provinces was very substantially lower than that of the staffs of the other schools. Low masculinity in South African schools causes instability. While men are usually in the profession as a life career, women, except in Natal, are not eligible for permanent posts after marriage. The average period of service of women High-school teachers was found by the Survey to be only three years. The English-medium schools therefore suffered from a higher staff turn-over and, because of this, from excessive breaks

87. Survey, p. 45 (the Survey's Table 41).

in continuity of teaching, from comparatively inexperienced teachers - young women in $\frac{1}{2}$ three-year relays - and from more instability generally. Summing up for the four provinces, the Survey reported ⁸⁸ of all four that the staff position in the English-medium schools was 'more unsatisfactory than in the Afrikaans-medium or in the parallel- and double-medium schools'.

255. The shortage of English-speaking teachers does not work to the detriment of the English-medium schools only. It impoverishes South African education generally. An obvious ill-effect is on the teaching of English. There are probably more Afrikaner than English teachers teaching English in the schools to-day. Many of them are eminently qualified for the work. But the number with the Ae language qualification is an indication of the limitations of many others. From time to time evidence becomes available of some teaching of English which is very unsatisfactory indeed. English is not a foreign language in South Africa and a major part of every child's learning of English should take place in the classroom of an English-speaking teacher. It would, moreover, make for healthy South Africanism if every single-medium schools had on its staff several well-qualified members of the other language group - and not necessarily as language

88. Op. cit., p. 84.

specialists. At present, such healthy cross-fertilisation is impossible, and not only in single-medium schools.

Parallel-medium schools outside Natal, particularly those in the country, very often have no teachers whose home language is English.

256. At first glance, the problem of the shortage of English-speaking teachers would not seem to be insoluble. Table F shows that there is less drop-out in English-medium secondary classes than in Afrikaans-medium. Table B shows that of pupils who reach Standard X, 42 per cent are in English-medium classes and 58 per cent in Afrikaans-medium. But the fact remains that the English-speaking are not attracted to teaching in the same proportions as the Afrikaans-speaking.

257. To a considerable extent, the reasons would seem to be economic. It has been pointed out in earlier sections that the average income of the English-speaking group is still substantially higher than that of the Afrikaans-speaking, though the difference is being steadily reduced. Table G shows how this is reflected in the standard of education reached by members of the two groups of all ages, (though extended compulsory education and generous educational support for the indigent are gradually bringing a more equal distribution at all educational levels). This Table, based on the 1960 Census, shows, incidentally, the comparatively high educational background of immigrant groups like the Hollanders and Germans.

Table H, also based on the 1960 census, shows the same differences reflected in occupational groupings. This Table indicates also the significance of the teaching profession in social mobility and, in particular, as a channel of entry to the professional group.

258. It will be clear, from an examination of these tables, that salary scales designed to attract an adequate proportion of suitable Afrikaans-speaking matriculants to the teaching profession are not likely to attract an equal proportion of suitable English-speaking matriculants. Vocational expectations are influenced to a major extent by the socio-economic background of the family. A Natal experience seems relevant. The present writer was chairman of a committee which, in 1951, surveyed the views of Standard X pupils in Natal schools on the status of the teaching profession. Appreciable differences were observed in the attitudes of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking pupils. There is room for only two examples. Girls of both groups placed headmistresses, university lecturers and high-school teachers high in their selections of the 'ten most respected occupations' from a list of forty. Lower down in the educational hierarchy, there were wide differences in appreciation. 31 per cent of the Afrikaans-speaking girls included 'primary school teacher' in their top ten; only 9 per cent of English-speaking girls did so. 24 per cent of Afrikaans girls, as against 6 per cent of English girls, included the 'domestic science mistress' in

their selections; and 26 per cent of Afrikaans girls, as against 2 per cent of English girls, included the 'gym. and P.T. mistress'. Among the boys, 29 per cent of the Afrikaans-speaking and 11 per cent of the English-speaking included 'high-school master'; and 4 per cent of the Afrikaans-speaking and 2 per cent of the English-speaking included 'primary school teacher'.

259. In an integrated system differential salary scales for teachers of different cultural groups are out of the question. A higher general level of salaries, adequate to attract the number of English-speaking students required, would also contribute to the more effective transmission of Afrikaans culture by making possible the more careful selection of Afrikaans-speaking teachers (14 per cent of all Transvaal teachers' college students in 1963 had I.Qs below 100). But higher salaries would have to be accompanied by a policy of relating the number of college admissions, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking, to the general needs of the two groups of schools, plus requirements of specialist language teachers, English and Afrikaans. A Nationalist government, consciously using education as a political instrument, is unlikely to take such steps.

260. From time to time, English-speaking South Africans are reproached for not producing enough teachers to man their own schools. The reproaches would have more substance if the

English enjoyed educational autonomy and were able to control the range of salaries and the conditions of service of their teachers. But there are reasons other than the purely economic for the reluctance of many English-speaking students to embark on a teaching career. The ambitious are put off by the feeling that Nationalist policies will make it impossible for them ever to reach the higher posts. Confidence is undermined among the pupils of English-medium schools when efficient 'temporary' (i.e. married women) teachers are dismissed so that their posts may be made available to fledgling teachers from Afrikaans-medium teachers' colleges for whom posts in Afrikaans-medium schools have not been available ⁸⁹. Such dismissals, in a province like the Transvaal, where English-speaking teachers are only 18.3 per cent of the total establishment, would seem difficult to justify. Unless training quotas have been inefficiently assessed, or deliberately inflated, it should be possible to carry any normal surplus in auxiliary posts without dismissing efficient teachers in a scarce category. Policy towards immigrant teachers is also generally discouraging. The requirement of bilingualism as a basis for permanent appointment is hardly to be justified by the requirements of the work in single-medium schools. Immigrant teachers will

89. The indications are that the unplaced may well be unpromising teachers. See Table X.

normally try to learn their second language. Sometimes they succeed, but not all adults learn new languages very well. The criterion for the permanent appointment of immigrant teachers should be their efficiency as teachers in the single-medium South African classroom. The time to demand bilingualism of them is when, if ever, they apply for appointment to posts - such as principalships of parallel schools - which require bilingualism for the efficient performance of the work.

261. Whatever the reasons for the comparative lack of English-speaking teachers, the fact remains that because of it the provincial schools are often inadequately equipped for the transmission of the cultural heritage of South Africa's English-speaking children; for the more students in Afrikaans-medium schools and training colleges become 'saturated with the cultural stuff' of one section of the population, the less competent they become to act as bearers and transmitters of the culture of the other section. Many culturally-conscious English-speaking parents react to the situation in provincial schools locally available to them in the traditional South African way - by withdrawing their children and sending them to private schools ⁹⁰. But while the private school may solve individual problems for the comparatively well-to-do -

90. Table A show enrolments in provincial, provincial-aided, and private schools.

others cannot afford the high fees involved - it offers no solution on a national scale. It may, indeed, induce an unjustified complacency in the groups from which cultural leaders usually emerge.

TABLE D

TEACHERS ACCORDING TO AREA, HOME LANGUAGE AND CONTROL OF SCHOOL, PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1957-1963.

Year	Grand total	CITY				TOWN				RURAL AREA							
		Tot.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr. & Eng.	Other	Tot.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr. & Eng.	Other	Tot.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr. & Eng.	Other	
TOTAL																	
1963	29,236	14,675	8,642	5,461	371	201	11,403	9,681	1,463	120	139	3,158	2,829	246	18	65	
1962	28,675	14,550	8,674	5,279	373	224	11,207	9,328	1,611	125	143	2,918	2,575	281	16	46	
1961	28,084	14,340	8,275	5,483	389	193	10,529	8,939	1,347	101	142	3,215	2,903	247	17	48	
1960	27,477	13,988	7,958	5,481	357	192	10,283	8,685	1,331	116	151	3,206	2,894	229	18	65	
1959	26,664	13,242	7,428	5,286	364	164	10,372	8,762	1,380	100	130	3,050	2,732	232	22	64	
1958	25,960	13,087	7,457	5,165	307	158	9,912	8,374	1,306	111	121	2,961	2,636	257	20	48	
1957	25,307	12,645	7,123	5,074	292	156	9,396	7,852	1,305	122	117	3,266	2,892	284	27	63	
PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS																	
1963	28,289	14,117	8,587	5,016	359	155	11,144	9,595	1,312	117	120	3,028	2,767	192	18	51	
1962	27,513	13,842	8,619	4,711	359	153	10,916	9,229	1,442	119	126	2,755	2,513	202	15	25	
1961	26,969	13,623	8,218	4,893	371	141	10,240	8,866	1,172	95	107	3,106	2,856	201	17	32	
1960	26,356	13,260	7,898	4,876	343	143	10,010	8,609	1,152	112	137	3,086	2,847	185	18	36	
1959	25,576	12,534	7,363	4,696	350	125	10,113	8,692	1,212	96	113	2,929	2,688	184	22	35	
1958	24,910	12,415	7,396	4,603	292	124	9,608	8,281	1,122	108	97	2,887	2,618	221	20	28	
1957	24,232	11,987	7,069	4,519	277	122	9,100	7,743	1,132	120	105	3,145	2,866	220	27	32	
PROVINCIAL-AIDED SCHOOLS																	
1963	947	558	55	445	12	46	259	86	151	3	19	130	62	54	-	14	
1962	1,162	708	55	568	14	71	291	99	169	6	17	163	62	79	1	21	
1961	1,115	717	57	590	18	52	2289	73	175	6	35	109	47	46	-	16	
1960	1,121	728	60	605	14	49	273	76	179	4	14	120	47	44	-	29	
1959	1,088	708	65	590	14	39	259	70	168	4	17	121	44	48	-	29	
1958	1,050	672	61	562	15	34	304	93	184	3	24	74	18	36	-	20	
1957	1,075	658	54	555	15	34	296	109	173	2	12	121	26	64	-	31	

TABLE E

TEACHERS ACCORDING TO QUALIFICATIONS AND CONTROL OF SCHOOL,
1957-1963.

Year	Grand Total	With teaching certificate					Without teaching certificate				
		Tot.	Dr.	Mag.	Bac.	No Degree	Tot.	Dr.	Mag.	Bac.	No Degree
ALL SCHOOLS											
1963	31,391	29,685	104	775	7,967	20,839	1,706	6	78	542	1,080
1962	31,140	29,276	119	853	7,945	20,359	1,864	13	92	603	1,156
1961	30,611	28,700	156	922	7,830	19,792	1,911	12	113	653	1,133
1960	29,889	28,193	138	906	8,061	19,088	1,696	11	101	591	993
1959	28,960	27,276	161	934	7,397	19,784	1,684	11	93	551	1,029
1958	28,215	26,666	157	973	7,146	18,390	1,549	7	93	453	996
1957	27,639	26,187	168	1,598	6,412	18,009	1,452	9	112	461	870
PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS											
1963	28,289	27,367	95	687	7,334	19,251	922	2	16	308	596
1962	27,513	26,609	99	733	7,203	18,574	904	1	14	328	561
1961	26,969	26,084	97	781	7,110	18,096	885	1	19	348	517
1960	26,356	25,559	85	778	7,355	17,341	797	2	9	287	499
1959	25,576	24,765	105	802	6,746	17,112	811	3	10	285	513
1958	24,910	24,205	105	846	6,523	16,731	705	2	9	194	500
1957	24,232	23,676	118	1,450	5,772	16,366	556	5	20	206	325
PROVINCIAL-AIDED SCHOOLS											
1963	947	773	2	44	220	507	174	3	13	67	91
1962	1,162	923	5	59	262	597	239	2	24	94	119
1961	1,115	864	4	72	233	555	251	3	27	92	129
1960	1,121	867	1	63	237	566	254	1	27	99	127
1959	1,088	856	6	70	212	568	232	1	23	74	134
1958	1,050	804	4	67	189	544	246	1	26	68	152
1957	1,075	840	3	89	191	557	235	1	35	61	138
PRIVATE SCHOOLS											
1963	2,155	1,545	7	44	413	1,081	610	1	49	167	393
1962	2,465	1,744	15	61	480	1,188	721	10	54	181	476
1961	2,527	1,752	55	69	487	1,141	775	8	67	213	487
1960	2,412	1,767	52	65	469	1,181	645	8	65	205	367
1959	2,296	1,655	50	62	439	1,104	641	7	60	192	382
1958	2,255	1,657	48	60	434	1,115	598	5	58	191	344
1957	2,332	1,671	47	59	449	1,116	661	3	57	194	407

TABLE F

DROP-OUT OF PUPILS ACCORDING TO STANDARD FROM ST. VI TO X, AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.
NUMBER AND PER CENT, ALL SCHOOLS, 1955-1963.

Year	NUMBER						PER CENT					
	St. VI	St. VII	St. VIII	St. IX	St. X	St. VI	St. VII	St. VIII	St. IX	St. X		

AFRIKAANS												
1955	32,189	28,240	19,625	9,539	6,896	100.0	..	..	..	..	..	..
1956	33,791	28,812	20,598	10,260	7,836	100.0	89.5	..	..	..	..	..
1957	35,287	30,636	21,561	11,538	8,502	100.0	90.6	66.9	..	..	..	..
1958	38,558	32,210	22,868	12,541	9,039	100.0	91.2	67.6	38.9	..	..	..
1959	37,297	35,452	24,529	13,971	9,720	100.0	91.9	69.5	41.3	30.2	..	..
1960	38,326	34,636	27,541	15,973	10,897	100.0	92.8	71.4	45.2	32.2	..	..
1961	38,620	35,940	26,635	18,152	12,080	100.0	93.7	71.4	47.0	34.2	..	..
1962	39,183	36,317	28,041	18,165	13,697	100.0	94.0	73.2	48.7	35.5	..	..
1963	38,322	36,677	28,468	19,150	14,120	100.0	93.6	73.7	50.7	37.8	..	..

ENGLISH												
1955	20,037	17,882	13,317	8,155	6,533	100.0	..	..	..	..	..	..
1956	20,453	18,144	14,023	8,553	6,969	100.0	90.6	..	..	..	..	..
1957	21,471	19,209	14,326	9,069	7,141	100.0	93.9	71.5	..	..	..	..
1958	22,686	20,492	15,301	9,775	7,675	100.0	95.4	74.8	48.8	..	..	..
1959	23,337	21,161	16,439	10,456	8,205	100.0	93.3	76.6	51.1	40.9	..	..
1960	25,829	21,926	17,355	11,839	8,837	100.0	94.0	76.5	55.1	43.2	..	..
1961	25,200	23,979	17,860	12,655	9,534	100.0	92.8	76.5	55.8	44.0	..	..
1962	24,720	23,901	19,428	13,022	9,536	100.0	94.8	75.2	55.8	44.1	..	..
1963	24,656	23,524	20,254	14,540	10,179	100.0	95.1	80.4	56.3	43.6	..	..

TABLE G

HIGHEST SCHOOL STANDARD PASSED AND DIPLOMA AND/OR DEGREE OBTAINED BY HOME LANGUAGE - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION.
SOUTH AFRICA.

Home Language	Highest school standard passed							Diploma/Degree (Included in columns 1 to 8)			
	Total	Unspec.	No	Up to St. 5	St. 6 & 7	St. 8	St. 9	St. 10	Diploma Only	Degree Only	Both
TOTAL											
Eng. & Afr.	100.0	4.0	11.5	17.4	28.5	18.4	3.7	16.5	5.5	1.6	0.7
English	100.0	4.9	13.7	13.8	23.4	18.5	4.5	21.2	7.8	2.4	0.6
Afrikaans	100.0	2.0	18.3	22.3	29.2	14.0	3.0	11.2	4.1	1.1	0.5
Netherlands	100.0	9.3	15.4	12.9	13.0	18.1	4.2	27.1	16.1	3.4	0.2
German	100.0	8.3	13.1	10.2	13.9	21.3	4.2	29.0	10.8	4.5	0.8
Other	100.0	13.2	17.4	21.6	16.8	11.7	2.3	17.0	5.3	2.5	0.1
Total	100.0	3.4	16.4	18.9	26.5	15.8	3.6	15.4	5.7	1.7	0.6
MALE											
Eng. & Afr.	100.0	4.2	11.8	16.2	28.3	17.3	3.6	18.6	6.0	2.3	0.9
English	100.0	4.9	14.0	14.2	22.2	16.7	4.7	23.4	9.1	3.6	0.8
Afrikaans	100.0	1.9	18.5	22.8	28.9	12.8	3.0	12.1	3.9	1.7	0.8
Netherlands	100.0	9.3	13.8	14.1	12.0	16.0	3.5	31.1	20.5	5.1	0.2
German	100.0	7.8	12.6	10.2	11.9	20.8	4.6	32.2	11.2	7.0	1.0
Other	100.0	12.9	15.9	20.7	17.4	11.9	2.8	18.3	6.4	3.5	0.2
Total	100.0	3.3	16.6	19.3	26.0	14.4	3.7	16.8	6.0	2.5	0.8
FEMALE											
Eng. & Afr.	100.0	3.8	11.2	18.6	28.7	19.5	3.7	14.3	5.0	0.8	0.5
English	100.0	5.0	13.4	13.6	24.5	20.2	4.3	19.1	6.5	1.3	0.5
Afrikaans	100.0	2.0	18.2	21.9	29.4	15.2	2.9	10.3	4.4	0.4	0.3
Netherlands	100.0	9.3	17.1	11.6	14.1	20.3	4.8	22.8	11.4	1.6	0.3
German	100.0	8.8	13.5	10.2	16.0	21.9	3.9	25.7	10.5	1.8	0.6
Other	100.0	13.5	19.1	22.6	16.1	11.4	1.8	15.6	4.0	1.2	0.0
Total	100.0	3.5	16.2	18.5	27.1	17.2	3.5	14.0	5.3	0.8	0.4

TABLE H (page 1)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS BY HOME LANGUAGE. SOUTH AFRICA.

MALE

Occupational Groups	Home language					
	Total	Afrikaans	English	Afr. & Eng.	German	Netherlands
Professional, technical and related worker	81,901	31,234	45,139	1,191	1,968	1,211
Architect, engineer, surveyor	13,249	1,994	10,016	149	431	399
Veterinarian, biologist, horticulturist	1,312	462	679	21	40	80
Medical practitioner, specialist	5,950	1,738	3,913	159	80	20
Medical auxiliaries (pharmacist, therapist, etc.)	3,579	502	2,906	71	20	30
Other medical professions (nurses, etc.)	4,556	2,892	1,522	91	21	30
Professor, teacher, instructor	16,987	12,171	4,084	290	271	81
Jurist (judge, advocate, attorney)	4,494	1,553	2,821	60	30	30
Draughtsman	4,744	1,038	3,295	90	100	80
Other professional, technical worker	27,030	8,884	15,903	260	975	548
Administrative, executive, managerial worker	51,714	13,932	33,434	1,092	829	1,764
Clerical worker	135,346	68,277	62,650	2,156	981	771
Sales worker	61,628	18,045	37,730	1,072	819	3,593
Working proprietor (trade)	18,512	5,377	10,386	291	309	50
Insurance, estate agent	7,535	3,332	3,882	121	60	50
Commercial traveller, manufacturer's agent	13,962	2,662	10,481	279	181	99
Shop assistant	21,619	6,674	12,981	381	269	170
Farmer, fisherman, lumberman	112,569	94,929	14,369	650	1,396	1,082
Farmer, farm manager	97,662	82,452	12,509	609	1,237	733
Farm worker	11,643	9,953	1,321	20	149	179
Other (forestry worker, etc.)	3,264	2,524	539	21	10	170
Miner, quarryman and related worker	31,464	21,765	8,032	734	213	630

TABLE H (page 2)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS BY HOME LANGUAGE. SOUTH AFRICA.
MALE

Occupational Groups	Home language					
	Total	Afrikaans	English	Afr. & Eng.	German	Netherlands
Worker in transport and communication	64,663	49,543	13,388	1,151	100	160
Ship and aeroplane crew	3,249	1,049	2,011	50	39	40
Driver, fireman (railway)	11,398	9,334	1,885	179	-	-
Driver (road transport)	18,483	14,361	3,620	310	31	30
Guard, checker, shunter	19,850	16,810	2,589	361	-	10
Other worker in transport and communication	11,683	7,989	3,283	251	30	80
Craftsman, production worker, labourer	254,480	141,855	94,127	4,541	4,150	3,792
Spinner, tailor, cutter	1,999	672	1,044	-	60	21
Upholsterer (furniture, vehicles, etc.)	1,454	572	752	10	50	20
Shoemaker, -repairer	1,999	1,100	670	39	80	-
Fitter and turner, toolmaker	32,628	13,528	15,353	703	1,366	764
Mechanic (non-electrical)	28,615	15,918	10,444	481	544	431
Plumber, sheet metal worker	8,677	3,623	4,432	191	71	130
Other metal worker	15,189	9,343	5,006	321	120	180
Electrician and related worker	27,294	10,309	14,905	591	479	512
Carpenter, joiner	23,028	12,292	8,379	429	291	703
Painter and paperhanger	7,982	4,872	2,730	140	60	80
Bricklayer, plasterer	15,972	10,222	4,149	250	170	341
Compositor, engraver, etc.	7,258	1,971	4,836	170	70	131
Potter, other glass and clay worker	1,072	734	298	10	10	10
Baker, confectioner	1,154	349	573	20	70	50
Other worker in food	1,826	1,384	303	50	40	10
Pump, boiler, engine attendant	20,536	15,944	4,030	334	109	40
Labourer	14,218	12,095	1,915	159	29	10
Other production and construction worker	43,579	26,927	14,308	643	531	359
						811

TABLE I (page 1)

NUMBER OF COLLEGES, PUPILS AND TEACHING STAFF, FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME, BY
SEX AND CONTROL OF COLLEGE, 1962 AND 1963.

Year	Number	Pupils						Teaching staff							
		Full-time			Part-time			Total	Full-time			Part-time			
		Total	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.		F.	Tot.	M.	F.			
TOTAL															
1963	13	45,010	6,172	3,283	2,889	38,838	26,027	12,811	2,029	791	585	206	1,238	918	320
1962	12	44,692	6,539	3,149	3,390	38,153	27,261	10,892	1,962	786	577	209	1,176	913	263
DEPARTMENTAL TECHNICAL COLLEGES															
1963	8	9,545	3,775	1,856	1,919	5,770	3,279	2,491	419	302	204	98	117	60	57
1962	7	8,614	3,231	1,687	1,544	5,383	3,305	2,078	342	258	175	83	84	41	43
STATE-AIDED TECHNICAL COLLEGES															
1963	5	35,465	2,397	1,427	970	33,068	22,748	10,320	1,610	489	381	108	1,121	858	263
1962	5	36,078	3,308	1,462	1,846	32,770	23,956	8,814	1,620	528	402	126	1,092	872	220

TABLE I (page 2)

NUMBER OF PUPILS BY AGE, 1962 AND 1963.

Year	MALE										FEMALE													
	AGE										Total	AGE												
	-15	15	16	17	18	19	20+	-15	15	16	17	18	19	20+										
TOTAL																								
1963	6,172	3,283	796	544	771	536	362	166	108	2,889	74	566	1,014	714	334	114	73							
1962	6,539	3,149	836	767	673	501	264	76	32	3,390	123	733	1,113	884	398	77	62							
DEPARTMENTAL TECHNICAL COLLEGES																								
1963	3,775	1,856	527	359	427	299	148	53	43	1,919	43	413	618	471	256	79	39							
1962	3,321	1,687	480	420	347	263	141	30	6	1,544	69	352	471	430	169	35	18							
STATE-AIDED TECHNICAL COLLEGES																								
1963	2,397	1,427	269	185	344	237	214	113	65	970	31	153	396	243	78	35	34							
1962	3,308	1,462	356	347	326	238	123	46	26	1,846	54	381	642	454	229	42	44							

TABLE I (page 3)

NUMBER OF PUPILS BY STANDARD, 1962 AND 1963.

Year	MALE										FEMALE									
	Grand Total	STANDARDS									Total	STANDARDS								
		Total	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	?	VI	VII		VIII	IX	X	?					
1963	6,172	3,283	481	688	980	703	425	6	2,889	1	81	992	979	737	99					
1962	6,539	3,149	563	758	922	525	376	5	3,390	-	114	1,037	1,042	889	308					
TOTAL																				
DEPARTMENTAL TECHNICAL COLLEGES																				
1963	3,775	1,856	335	448	561	303	203	6	1,919	-	-	773	678	420	48					
1962	3,231	1,687	348	433	462	254	185	5	1,544	-	-	564	548	390	42					
STATE-AIDED TECHNICAL COLLEGES																				
1963	2,397	1,427	146	240	419	400	222	-	970	1	81	219	301	317	51					
1962	3,308	1,462	215	325	460	271	191	-	1,846	-	114	473	494	499	266					

NUMBER OF PUPILS BY STANDARDS AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION, 1963:

SPECIAL STATE SCHOOLS FOR PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED AND EPILEPTICS

TABLE J (page 2)

NUMBER OF PUPILS BY STANDARD AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION, 1963.

Medium of instruction	Total	Standard													
		Sub. A	Sub. B	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	?	
		STATE-AIDED SPECIAL SCHOOLS FOR BLIND, DEAF AND EPILEPTICS													
Total	882	96	81	74	109	68	78	86	79	48	43	14	16	90	
Afrikaans	432	56	44	28	61	37	39	33	40	14	11	2	6	61	
English	262	32	20	35	33	13	21	38	19	16	17	5	2	11	
Afr. & Eng.	188	8	17	11	15	18	18	15	20	18	15	7	8	18	
STATE-AIDED SCHOOLS FOR CEREBRAL PALSID CHILDREN															
Total	245	47	42	41	24	22	14	8	3	-	-	-	-	44	
Afrikaans	147	29	27	24	13	14	5	7	2	-	-	-	-	26	
English	98	18	15	17	11	8	9	1	1	-	-	-	-	18	
Afr. & Eng.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRIES															
Total	2,373	-	-	-	-	4	25	130	626	684	515	93	36	260	
Afrikaans	1,329	-	-	-	-	2	22	59	351	335	305	66	13	176	
English	432	-	-	-	-	2	3	8	106	95	118	27	5	68	
Afr. & Eng.	612	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	169	254	92	-	18	16	
REFORMATORY SCHOOLS															
Total	220	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	76	62	38	4	-	
Afrikaans	77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	34	29	11	-	-	
English	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	21	16	7	-	-	
Afr. & Eng.	97	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	21	17	20	1	-	

TABLE K
PERMANENT STAFF

Education departments and schools according to medium of instruction	Male		Female		Total	
	N	% of total number of permanent staff	N	% of total number of permanent staff	N	% of all filled posts
1. Cape						
Afrikaans-medium	727	74.1	254	25.9	981	79.7
English-medium	233	58.8	163	41.2	396	74.2
P. and D.	601	80.0	150	19.9	751	78.6
Total	1561	73.4	567	26.6	2128	78.2
2. Natal						
Afrikaans-medium	33	75.0	11	25.0	44	69.8
English-medium	211	49.6	214	50.3	425	81.6
P. and D.	133	80.6	32	19.4	165	65.7
Total	377	59.5	257	40.5	634	75.9
3. Orange Free State						
Afrikaans-medium	66	69.5	29	30.5	95	63.8
English-medium	26	51.0	25	49.0	51	68.0
P. and D.	439	87.3	64	12.7	503	78.1
Total	531	81.8	118	18.2	649	74.8
4. Transvaal						
Afrikaans-medium	1159	80.8	276	19.2	1435	60.5
English-medium	296	57.1	222	42.9	518	46.9
P. and D.	303	87.1	45	12.9	348	61.5
Total	1758	76.4	543	23.6	2301	56.9
5. South-West Africa	108	83.1	22	16.9	130	68.1
6. Education, Arts and Science	1134	77.8	324	22.2	1458	85.4

XII

Training of teachers. Separate and parallel institutions. Staffing. Inducements to students to become bilingual. Encouragement of understanding and appreciation of other culture

262. Teachers for primary and secondary schools in South Africa are trained at universities and at training colleges (also called 'normal colleges' and 'colleges of education'). The standard of admission is a pass in the Senior Certificate examination, taken at the end of the secondary course. The Senior Certificate may be gained with, or without, matriculation exemption privileges. A pass with matriculation privileges is necessary for admission to a degree course at a university. It requires, inter alia, a pass in a third language, or in mathematics. A pass without matriculation privileges suffices for admission to training-college courses and to some university courses not taken for degree purposes.

263. Primary teachers may be trained at universities, at training colleges, or in courses attended partly at a university and partly at a training college. The university courses for primary teachers are usually of three years' duration and are designed to provide teachers for the senior primary standards. Two universities, Cape Town and Stellenbosch, offer a one-year postgraduate diploma course for primary teachers. The basic primary teachers' course at training colleges has been of two years' duration* but, as will be seen from Table O, an increasing number of students remain at college for a third year in which

* As from 1966, the basic course in two provinces has been made one of three years. The other provinces have also approved the principle of a minimum course of three years.

they may specialise in certain subjects, e.g. mathematics, music, domestic science, or in certain kinds of teaching, e.g. teaching of infants, teaching of the handicapped. Such teachers with a specialised training in mathematics are often employed in the junior classes of secondary schools.

264. Secondary teachers usually take a university degree with suitable subjects, followed by a one-year professional course leading to the University Education Diploma. An integrated degree-plus-professional-training course of four years is offered by Transvaal training colleges in association with neighbouring universities. Teachers holding a general qualification (e.g., the University Education Diploma) may also take specialist courses, e.g. in remedial education, at the University, and of course may study for advanced degrees in education. Table E reflects a tendency in recent years for the number with higher degrees to decrease. University expansion and new opportunities in commerce and industry have been providing attractive alternatives for well qualified teachers.

265. Generally speaking, South African universities are single-medium institutions, but any qualified White student is eligible to attend any White university, whether it teaches in his home language or not, and some of the universities draw substantial numbers of students from the other language group. Students changing medium on going to the university may do so

for many reasons, some of them cultural, e.g. in order to gain fluency in the other language, or in order to work in a department with a high academic reputation, or because of a preference for the academic or social atmosphere of the university chosen. But the reasons may also be domestic or financial, e.g. the desire to attend the hometown university as a day student rather than go into residence at a more distant home-language university. All students preparing for the University Education Diploma are tested for bilingualism, and may be given teaching practice in their second language as well as in their first. Their Diplomas are endorsed to show their degree of bilingualism.

266. Training Colleges are maintained by the Provincial Administrations. Tables M to X⁹¹ give a statistical picture of current trends and present conditions in these colleges in respect of the home languages of students and staff and other relevant matters.

267. Table M shows the number of colleges, of students and of lecturers over the years 1957-1963. During this period the number of full-time students rose from 5,451 to 9,209, or by 69 per cent. (The small number of part-time students - found only in the Transvaal - dropped from 600 to 258.) Masculinity rose fractionally from 29.6 to 30.4 per cent. Of full-time

91. Tables M to W taken from Report No. 285, Statistics of Schools 1963 and Earlier Years, Bureau of Statistics, 1965. Published by Government Printer, Pretoria. Table X from Educational News Flashes (Transvaal Education Department), October 1965.

lecturers, men increased from 215 to 427, or by 99 per cent, and women from 162 to 250, or by 54 per cent. Masculinity rose from 57 to 63 per cent. The ratio of full-time staff to full-time students in 1963 was 1:13.6.

268. Table N shows the number of colleges according to sex of students, medium of instruction and size of college. It may be noted in passing that with two exceptions, both in the Cape, all colleges were co-educational. A notable feature of the years 1957-1963 was the practical abandonment of the dual-medium system in teacher training. Of seven dual-medium colleges in 1957, only one was still dual-medium in organisation in 1963. Parallel colleges, on the other hand, had increased from two to three, English-medium colleges from two to four, and Afrikaans-medium colleges from three to seven. The trend was strongly towards 'apartheid'.

269. Table O shows the number of full-time students according to year of course and sex. It will be noted that the great majority of the men and a clear majority of the women have been remaining at college for the higher, three-year course and that a small but growing number (all in Transvaal -- see Table S) remain for a fourth year.

270. Table P shows full-time students according to age and sex. Masculinity ranged from 35 per cent in the Transvaal through 23 per cent in the Cape and 20 per cent in the Free State to 17.6 per cent in Natal.

271. Table Q shows colleges, students and lecturers by provinces in 1963.

272. Table R shows colleges by sex of students, medium of instruction and enrolment by provinces in 1963.

273. Table S shows students according to year of course and sex by provinces in 1963.

274. Table T shows students according to home language by provinces in 1963. Percentages of Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking students are as set out below. Most of those included under 'other' were from bilingual homes except in Natal where most were German-speaking.

	<u>English</u>	<u>Afrikaans</u>	<u>Other</u>
Cape	23	72	5
Natal	64	28	8
Transvaal	20	77	3
O.F.S.	5	95	-
South Africa	22.6	73.4	3.9

275. Table U shows, by provinces for 1963, the number of students who received financial assistance from the provincial administrations.

276. Table V shows lecturers according to home languages and sex by provinces in 1963. Masculinity was 63 per cent. Of the lecturers, 21.6 per cent were English- and 75.2 per cent Afrikaans-speaking. Of the women, 35 per cent were English- and 62 per cent Afrikaans-speaking. Of the men, 13.8 per cent were English- and 83.1 Afrikaans-speaking.

277. Table W shows lecturers according to home language and sex over the years 1957-1963. It will be observed that in this period the number of English-speaking lecturers increased by 54 per cent and the number of Afrikaans-speaking lecturers by 97 per cent.

278. Table X shows the distribution of intelligence quotients of the 2,169 new students admitted to Transvaal Training Colleges in 1963. Transvaal high schools classify their pupils in three streams, (i) the academic, or university entrance stream, (ii) the Standard X stream, i.e. those capable of benefiting by schooling up to Standard X, but not suitable for the academic course, and (iii) those who would not normally proceed beyond standard VIII. It will be noted that more than half come from the second stream, and that while there is much promising training college material there is a sizable and very unpromising tail.

279. It should be noted that this brief survey covers only the training of teachers for primary and general secondary education. Three technical colleges offer training courses of technical and commercial teachers and there are two colleges which train nursery school teachers.

280. Both official languages are compulsory subjects of instruction at all training colleges and students are required to pass the examinations in both. If a student fails in his

second-language examination his teacher's diploma is withheld in the Free State, in the Cape and in all the Transvaal colleges with one exception. In Natal a provisional diploma is issued, carrying a lower salary rating, until the examination is passed. I quote, as fairly representative, the legal requirements in the Cape ⁹² :

- (i) 'Both English and Afrikaans shall be included in the courses and examinations for teachers' general certificates, and there shall be in each of the said languages an examination on a higher grade, with oral and written tests and a test in teaching a class in any of the subjects of the primary school course prescribed by the Department, and an examination on a lower grade with oral and written tests.'
- (ii) 'Every candidate for such a certificate must pass in both Afrikaans and English, and in at least one of the said languages on the higher grade.'

281. One regrets the replacement of the double-medium organisation at colleges where it had until recently functioned satisfactorily. Home-language education is becoming practically standard procedure at training colleges (though it is not statutorily compulsory). There would seem to be no reason why double-medium instruction should not be as helpful to student teachers as to student veterinarians or agricultural extension officers who receive their instruction through both media as part of their training for serving the public in both. Double

92. Ordinance No. 20/1956, section 73. It should be noted that only a written examination is taken in the Free State. (Cf. A Comparative Study of the Training of European Teachers in S.A., National Bureau for Social Research: Research Series No. 7, p. 66).

medium instruction is not, of course, for universal use. It is at its best when it is visibly motivated, as when the staff and the student group are both fairly evenly mixed. These conditions are only exceptionally found.

282. Nearly as much time is given in the middle and higher standards in South African Schools to the teaching of the second language as to the teaching of the first. This is a basic fact of the school time-table, and it is unlikely to change. Having this fact in mind, one may point to what seems to be a fairly general weakness, or one-sidedness, in the teaching of the two languages to prospective teachers at university level. English departments in the English universities, according to Professor Guy Butler of Rhodes University, have tended to 'cultivate their own garden', i.e. to concentrate on the teaching of English Literature as for mother-tongue speakers. Where Language has had attention, the emphasis has been on Old and Middle English rather than on Modern English. Similarly, Afrikaans departments at the Afrikaans universities have tended to concentrate on Afrikaans and Dutch Literature and, in Language, to stress Middle-Dutch and the older Germanic languages. Such programmes flow naturally from the scholarly interests of the lecturers themselves. They are designed to be, in the first place, of value to students who are native speakers of the language, i.e. who have mastered its basic patterns at home. And they are

valuable to student teachers who will in due course teach the language as home language. But they badly need supplementing in the case of teachers who are to teach the language as second language, i.e. to teach it to pupils to whom its basic patterns are strange. The advanced student of one of the official languages often expresses distress when called upon to teach his language to pupils learning it as second language. One of the reasons, in too many cases, is that he has not been suitably prepared for such a task. Experimental work, e.g. in the use of language laboratories, is being done at several centres but we still have much to learn from modern linguistic theories.

283. Teachers of foreign languages often proclaim idealistic aims such as the fostering of appreciation of other cultures or the promotion of international understanding. Comparable aims on the group level are not as often as they should be a notable feature of our second-language instruction. Indeed, where emphasis in school or training college is on the education of the pupil as member of the linguistic group ('volksgenoot') rather than as citizen of the South African nation, enthusiasm for, or deep interest in, the 'other' culture may remain comparatively undeveloped or may even be suspect. Among the 'general aims' set out for the teaching of Afrikaans as mother-tongue in the secondary schools of the Transvaal, for example, we find: 'It is the aim of mother-tongue education to assure the continued existence, materially and non-materially, of the

"volk", and to integrate and anchor the individual completely and entirely in his "volk", so that the mission of the "volk" may be fulfilled.⁹³ Where instruction in the home language is governed by such a political aim, benefits beyond the linguistic from second-language instruction are likely to be subject to inhibitions. Such inhibitions, especially in view of the composition of the staff of our schools and training colleges, are likely to cramp more particularly the appreciation of English cultural values.

93. Syllabus, p. 1. 'Die moedertaalonderwys wil die voortbestaan van die volk verseker, stoflik en nie-stoflik, en die indiwidu volledig en algeheel inskakel en verander in sy volk, sodat die volksroeping verwesenlik kan word.'

TABLE M

SUMMARY OF COLLEGES, STUDENTS AND LECTURERS, 1957-1963.

Year	Colleges	Students					Lecturers				
		Tot.	Full-time		Part-time		Tot.	Full-time		Part-time	
			M.	F.	M.	F.		M.	F.	M.	F.
1963	15	9,467	2,804	6,405	179	79	697	427	250	7	13
1962	15	9,032	2,638	5,973	300	121	618	386	221	7	4
1961	15	8,368	2,497	5,416	366	89	559	349	207	2	1
1960	14	7,752	2,164	5,077	376	135	487	284	203	-	-
1959	14	6,998	1,851	4,615	399	133	459	260	184	7	8
1958	14	6,389	1,644	4,231	373	141	437	248	170	9	10
1957	14	6,051	1,611	3,840	467	133	398	215	162	12	9

TABLE N

COLLEGES ACCORDING TO SEX OF STUDENTS, MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND ENROLMENT SIZE
GROUP - 1957-1963

Year	Total Enrolment	Sex of students			Medium of instruction				Enrolment						
		M.	F.	Mixed	Afr.	Eng.	Par.	Doub.	0-99	100-199	200-399	400-599	600-799	800-999	1000+
1963	15	-	2	13	7	4	3	1	--	2	5	4	--	1	3
1962	15	-	2	13	7	3	3	2	--	2	7	2	1	--	3
1961	15	-	2	13	7	3	3	2	--	3	6	2	1	--	3
1960	14	-	2	12	4	2	2	6	--	1	8	1	1	--	3
1959	14	-	2	12	3	2	3	6	1	3	5	1	1	-2	1
1958	14	-	2	12	3	1	4	6	2	3	5	-	1	2	1
1957	14	-	2	12	3	2	2	7	2	3	4	2	1	1	1

TABLE O

FULL-TIME STUDENTS ACCORDING TO YEAR OF COURSE AND SEX, 1957-1963.

Year	Total			1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year		Special	
	Tot.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1963	9,209	2,804	6,405	1,105	2,683	871	2,309	701	1,248	122	164	5	1
1962	8,611	2,638	5,973	1,078	2,557	810	2,130	601	1,085	131	151	18	50
1961	7,913	2,497	5,416	1,061	2,327	750	2,036	515	851	133	143	38	59
1960	7,241	2,164	5,077	985	2,340	624	1,836	379	746	159	126	17	29
1959	6,466	1,851	4,615	821	2,044	466	1,752	409	676	141	126	14	17
1958	5,875	1,644	4,231	627	1,916	535	1,676	362	539	106	76	14	24
1957	5,451	1,611	3,840	692	1,816	468	1,425	315	503	114	65	22	31

TABLE P

FULL-TIME STUDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX, 1963.

Province	Tot.	Age in years									
		-17	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25 +
South Africa	Tot.	11	604	2,461	2,791	1,854	899	306	125	55	103
	M.	1	93	469	716	611	502	216	103	38	55
	F.	10	511	1,992	2,075	1,243	397	90	22	17	48
Cape	Tot.	1	114	606	659	403	113	39	19	10	22
	M.	-	12	76	126	124	70	26	13	8	6
	F.	1	102	530	533	279	43	13	6	2	16
Natal	Tot.	-	55	194	204	102	31	8	7	4	15
	M.	-	1	16	25	37	15	6	4	1	4
	F.	-	54	178	179	65	16	2	3	3	11
Transvaal	Tot.	9	419	1,495	1,741	1,246	709	247	97	38	56
	M.	1	80	360	548	416	388	176	85	28	41
	F.	8	339	1,135	1,193	830	321	71	12	10	15
O.F.S.	Tot.	1	16	166	187	103	46	12	2	3	10
	M.	-	-	17	17	34	29	8	1	1	4
	F.	1	16	149	170	69	17	4	1	2	6



TABLE Q

SUMMARY OF COLLEGES, STUDENTS AND LECTURERS, 1963.

Province	Colleges	Students				Lecturers					
		Tot.	Full-time		Part-time		Tot.	Full-time		Part-time	
			M.	F.	M.	F.		M.	F.		
Total	15	9,467	2,804	6,405	179	79	697	427	250	7	13
Cape	7	1,986	461	1,525	-	-	163	65	84	4	10
Natal	2	620	109	511	-	-	62	35	25	1	1
Transvaal	5	6,315	2,123	3,934	179	79	426	298	128	-	-
O.F.S.	1	546	111	435	-	-	46	29	13	2	2

TABLE R

COLLEGES ACCORDING TO SEX OF STUDENTS,
MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND ENROLMENT SIZE GROUP, 1963.

Province	Tot.	Sex of students			Medium of instruction				Enrolment							
		M.		F.	Mixed	Afr.	Eng.	Par.	Doub.	0-99	100-199	200-399	400-599	600-799	800-999	1000+
Total	15	-	2	13	7	4	3	1	-	2	5	4	-	1	3	
Cape	7	-	2	5	3	2	1	1	-	1	5	1	2	-	-	
Natal	2	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	
Transvaal	5	-	-	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	
O.F.S.	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	

TABLE S

FULL-TIME STUDENTS ACCORDING TO YEAR OF COURSE AND SEX, 1963.

Province	Total			1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year		Special	
	Tot.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Total	9,209	2,804	6,405	1,105	2,683	871	2,309	701	1,248	122	164	5	1
Cape	1,986	461	1,525	173	666	165	606	123	253	-	-	-	-
Natal	620	109	511	37	216	40	210	32	65	-	-	-	-
Transvaal	6,057	2,123	3,934	851	1,604	632	1,313	513	852	122	164	5	1
O.F.S.	546	111	435	44	197	34	180	33	58	-	-	-	-

TABLE T

STUDENTS ACCORDING TO HOME LANGUAGE, 1963.

Province	Full-time students					Part-time students				
	Tot.	Afr.	Eng.	A. & E.	Other	Tot.	Afr.	Eng.	A. & E.	Other
Total	9,209	6,764	2,084	210	151	258	202	41	8	7
Cape	1,986	1,433	450	81	22	-	-	-	-	-
Natal	620	172	395	6	47	-	-	-	-	-
Transvaal	6,057	4,640	1,212	123	82	258	202	41	8	7
O.F.S.	546	519	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE U

ASSISTANCE TO STUDENTS, 1963

Province	Number of cases where assistance was received for:-						
	Tot.	Lodging fees		Class fees		Other	
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Total	14,902	1,964	4,184	873	1,694	2,069	4,118
Cape	1,817	343	905	8	547	3	11
Natal	1,580	104	483	104	483	82	324
Transvaal	10,982	1,458	2,589	761	664	1,915	3,595
O.F.S.	523	59	207	-	-	69	188

TABLE V

LECTURERS ACCORDING TO HOME LANGUAGE, SEX AND NATURE OF APPOINTMENT, 1963.

Province	Grand total			Home language					
				English		Afrikaans		Eng. and Afr.	
	Tot.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
				FULL-TIME					
Total	677	427	250	59	87	355	154	7	4
Cape	149	65	84	5	31	57	49	-	2
Natal	60	35	25	31	19	19	6	-	-
Transvaal	426	298	128	37	33	252	91	6	2
O.F.S.	42	29	13	1	4	27	8	1	-

TABLE W

LECTURERS ACCORDING TO HOME LANGUAGE, SEX AND NATURE OF APPOINTMENT, 1957-1963

Year	Home language										
	Grand total			Afrikaans		English		Afr. & Eng.		Other	
	Tot.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
FULL-TIME											
1963	677	427	250	355	154	59	87	7	4	6	5
1962	607	386	221	328	132	50	85	7	3	1	1
1961	556	349	207	295	117	44	84	3	1	7	5
1960	487	284	203	240	115	36	81	3	3	5	4
1959	444	260	184	215	106	36	71	5	1	4	6
1958	418	248	170	197	102	42	60	5	4	4	4
1957	377	215	162	170	88	33	62	10	9	2	3

TABLE X.

Intelligence quotients of 1963 intake of new studentsTransvaal Training Colleges

I.Q.	Univ. Entr. Course			Std. X Course			Total					
	M	W	T	%	M	W	T	%				
80- 89	5	3	48	0.8	18	26	44	3.8	23	29	52	2.4
90- 99	26	28	54	5.4	75	121	196	16.8	101	149	250	11.5
100-109	93	118	211	21.0	165	250	415	35.6	258	368	626	28.9
110-119	135	221	356	35.5	126	223	349	30.0	261	444	705	32.5
120-129	102	152	254	25.3	43	84	127	10.9	145	236	381	17.6
130+	49	72	121	12.0	8	26	34	2.9	57	98	155	7.1
Total	410	594	1,004	100	435	730	1,165	100	845	1,324	2,169	100
Average	116	117	117	-	108	108	108	-	112	112	112	-

XIII

Appointments and Promotions of Teachers.
Incentives to Improve Proficiency in the Second
Language. School Boards and Committees.
Preference on Religious or Cultural Grounds.

284. Appointments and promotions of teachers in the provincial schools are governed by conditions which vary from province to province. In Natal all permanent appointments and all promotions are made centrally without reference to local boards or committees. In the other provinces nominations of teachers to fill vacancies are in most cases made by local school committees, boards or governing bodies and if the nominations are approved the appointments are made by the provincial Director of Education.

285. Natal is thus the only province in which all school appointments and promotions are made by the Provincial Administration without reference to local school committees. Teachers in Natal are appointed, not to posts in specific schools, as in the other provinces, but to posts in the Natal Education Department generally, and any teacher may be sent, or transferred should the needs of the service require it, to any school in the province. This procedure has its advantages and disadvantages. It makes for the expeditious filling of vacancies, temporary or permanent. If a teacher of mathematics dies, or is suddenly taken seriously ill, a qualified replacement can usually take up the work over the week-end. It also makes for the most effective use of teachers with scarce, or comparatively scarcer, qualifications. Such teachers can be taken



from schools where they can be spared and made available where they are wanted in the interests of the service as a whole. It also makes it possible to staff schools in outlying areas with more efficient teachers than would always be voluntarily available for such schools. And a timely transfer, with no reasons recorded, may on occasion bring relief from an awkward social situation. But the procedure is not one which can be applied indiscriminately. In practice, married men are only in most exceptional circumstances transferred if the transfer would entail a change of domicile. And older teachers who have worked where required for considerable periods are not lightly transferred where transfer would cause them inconvenience. In general, the system requires sympathetic personnel work while putting the interests of the schools first.

286. All vacancies in promotion posts⁹⁴ in Natal must be advertised in the service. After the closing date, applications for all currently vacant posts are discussed, in the first place, at a special meeting of the inspectorate. They are then considered by a Promotions Committee of three members - the chief inspector and the two Educational Planners, both of the rank of chief inspector. The chief inspector presides at the meeting of the inspectors. His two colleagues on the Promotions Committee also attend the meeting but do not take part in the discussion. The merits of the applicants for each vacant post

94. The only grade of entry to teaching posts is that of assistant teacher.

are discussed by the inspectors who know them, and the suitability of each for the relevant vacancy is assessed on a scale ranging from Outstanding to Satisfactory, and below. The Promotions Committee, meeting afterwards, may confirm or, from their own knowledge of the applicants, revise the assessments of the inspectors. They then recommend to the Director of Education the appointment of the applicant assessed as the best for the post. The Director may approve their recommendation, or he may ask them to reconsider it. If he is in ultimate disagreement with the Promotions Committee he must send their recommendation, together with his reasons for rejecting it, and his own recommendation, to the Administrator⁹⁵, who may appoint any of the applicants. Generally, though not invariably, the recommendations of the Promotions Committee go through without reversal at any stage.

287. This centralised promotions procedure has the general approval of Natal teachers of all groups. It places promotions primarily in the hands of persons well qualified to assess the professional merits of applicants. It is accepted as generally selecting the best people available for the posts advertised, and as doing so without cultural or religious bias.

95. The Administrator-in-Executive-Committee, i.e. the Administrator acting on the advice of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council.

288, To the teacher seeking promotion, bilingualism is an important asset. Bilingualism is not, in Natal, an essential qualification for promotion to the principalship of even the largest single-medium schools, English or Afrikaans. But the channel of promotion to these posts leads through vice-principalships and junior principalships, usually in schools in the country towns, which are predominantly parallel-medium. The unilingual teacher must often wait for a single-medium opening while his bilingual colleague has all posts open to him.

289. The Natal Administration pays a bonus of R200 to each teacher who is bilingual on entering the service or who becomes bilingual while in the service. This is meant as a token of approval rather than as a serious inducement to teachers to become bilingual. The real inducement lies in the general conditions of the service.

290. The Natal promotions procedure is criticised from time to time on the grounds that it does not give the parents of the local school the right to select their own teachers and that, as a result, it discourages local interest in the local school and in education generally. The present writer does not find these arguments convincing. The 'right of the parents' to select the teachers may mean in certain circumstances the right of the dominant local politico-cultural group to place their own man. And local interest in the local school does not depend on the possession of the right to appoint teachers, as lively parents' committees and parent-teacher associations in Natal schools testify.

291. The other provinces make provision for limited local control of aspects of education. Responsibilities of the local boards and committees vary from province to province. They may not impose educational taxation but work to funds allocated from the head offices of the education departments. Generally speaking, there is a school board with certain delegated responsibilities for the development of educational facilities in its school district. Some school districts may be very large. There are more pupils in the Witwatersrand Central district than in the whole of Natal or in the whole of the Free State. But in the more sparsely populated areas school districts may include a comparatively small number of schools. Within the districts, each separate school has its school committee or, in the case of certain high schools and colleges of education, its governing body. The school committee is the body which has traditionally nominated teachers for posts at each school. It is still the main nominating body though for various reasons (e.g. for the most effective use of teachers with scarce qualifications, or for the placement of newly qualified teachers), other education departments have found it necessary to take powers of direct appointment, more or less as in Natal.

292. Cape School Committees. A school committee, in the Cape Province, consists of three, five, or seven members, as the district school board may decide. The voters in the election of the committee are 'the persons whose names appear in the admission register...as parents or guardians of one or more children enrolled at the school; provided that if the name of

the father so appears in respect of any child and for the same family the name of the mother appears in respect of another child, one or other of the parents shall be a voter but not both...'. The committee so elected exercises a general supervision of the school (subject to rules made by the Education Department), advises the board in matters affecting the welfare of the school, and deals with representations from parents. One of its more important functions is the nomination of teachers.

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293. Nomination and appointment of teachers . Whenever a new or vacant post is to be filled, the board concerned advertises the post in the Education Gazette..., the committee considers the applications and submits to the board its nomination of a person to fill the post, and the board submits the nomination to the Department together with its recommendation. If the board's recommendation differs from the committee's nomination, this fact would be a signal to the Department to consider the nomination very carefully.) Generally, the Department will approve the nomination and make the appointment. If the Department does not approve the nomination, the matter is referred back to the committee which 'shall forthwith submit to the board, for submission to the Department together with the board's recommendation, its nomination of another person from among the applicants or, if the committee finds it impracticable to do so, the provisions of subsection (1) shall

96. Ordinance 20/1956, Section 81.

again be complied with (i.e. the post shall again be advertised in the Education Gazette), and in either event, if a nomination is then submitted of a person whose nomination the Department has previously, since the occasion for filling the post arose, decided not to approve, the Department may call upon the board to submit a nomination and, if such nomination is not approved by the Department, the Department may itself nominate a person to fill the post...'.

294. It will be noted that while the school committee normally selects the teacher to fill a vacancy at its school, the actual appointment is made by the Education Department which fixes the date of appointment and the conditions of service.

295. The Department has the right, after consultation with the board and committee, to 'appoint a teacher in a school to another post of equal or higher classification in the school other than that of principal teacher,' i.e. the right to appoint vice-principals and special grade assistants within a school vests in the Department, after consultation.

296. Applications in the O.F.S. The procedure in applying for teaching posts is set out in more detail in the Free State Ordinance ⁹⁷. The applicant must forward with his application:

- a) certified copies of academic and professional certificates and proof of teaching experience;

97. Ordinance 15/1954, Section 60(2).

- b) a certificate of good conduct, signed by a minister of religion of his church or other responsible person, and which shall not be more than one year old;
- c) if he has conscientious objections to the giving of religious instruction, a statement to that effect.

The committee considers the applications and recommends
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 to the Director of Education :

- a) that one of at least two of the applicants designated by the committee in order of preference...be appointed to fill the vacancy; or
- b) if there be only one applicant, that such applicant be appointed; or
- c) that none of the applicants be appointed.

Together with its recommendations, the committee must forward, in the case of a vacancy for an assistant, the recommendation of the principal, if the principal require it; and in the case of a vacancy for the principal of a school of four or more teachers, proof that the inspector for the area has been consulted. The Director of Education may appoint any of the applicants recommended or, if he refuses, refer the matter to the Administrator who may appoint any applicant, whether recommended or not.

297. Transvaal procedure. School boards in the Transvaal have one third of their members nominated by the Provincial Administration, a circumstance which can determine their

political control. Procedure in respect of applications for teaching posts varies in details only from that in the Free State and Cape. Applications are addressed to the board, which sends them to the school committee concerned, which 'shall therefrom...recommend a suitably qualified applicant: Provided that if applications have been received from two or more suitably qualified applicants at least two applicants shall be recommended in their order of preference.'⁹⁹ The applications, together with the recommendations, are sent to the board which likewise makes its two recommendations in order of preference, and passes applications and recommendations to the Director of Education who considers them and may appoint 'any applicant so recommended.'

298. As has been mentioned, the Education Department may now also make direct appointments in certain circumstances. The Director may transfer any teacher appointed in a permanent capacity to any other teaching post in a permanent capacity¹⁰⁰ without the consent of board or committee. Further, if a teacher is unable to carry out his duties, or if a post is not filled in a permanent capacity, the Director may appoint a person to fill such post in a temporary capacity... . Provided that the board or committee concerned may at any time after the person has occupied the post for not less than four consecutive terms, demand that he be no longer retained in the post,

99. Ordinance, Section 71.

100. Section 76.

and the Director shall thereupon appoint some other person
temporarily¹⁰¹ .

299. It would seem that all this checking and counterchecking of local recommendations should prevent gross injustices, and no doubt gross injustices are comparatively rare. But the local committee system lends itself to lobbying at various levels and most teachers are unhappy about it. A recent investigation by the Bureau of Educational and Social Research found a widespread belief among teachers that promotions were often unfair and determined by non-professional considerations, and that school committees had too much influence¹⁰² .

300. Exactly how well-founded this widespread belief is it would be impossible to say without a searching investigation. It is unfortunately the case that school board elections are too often fought on politico-cultural lines, and that underground organisation too often makes the school-committee election safe for the panel of candidates put up by the local 'cultural' cell, with the Dutch Reformed minister very much in the foreground. In such circumstances, the teacher looking for

101. Section 78.

102. Die Unie (organ of the S.A.O.U., the Cape Afrikaans teachers' society) published in April and May, 1965, a valuable study of the unusual and very thorough procedure adopted by a Cape school committee in its selection of a new principal for the school. Before any favourite-pushing could begin, each member of the committee had to assess each applicant, on the evidence contained in his application, in respect of twelve agreed desirable qualities!

advancement tends to be visibly orthodox in political activity and in religious observance. And the student whose views are in some degree non-conformist has to consider whether he would be well-advised to embark on a teaching career.

301. Pressure to conform weighs more heavily on the Afrikaans-speaking teacher than on the English. The fact that the religious allegiance of the English group is divided among a number of churches makes a wide toleration in appointments inevitable. On the Afrikaans side, Christian-National policy places a heavy premium on membership of one of the three Dutch Reformed churches. From time to time there are complaints of unfair discrimination in teacher appointments even within the membership of these churches, but such discrimination 'against brothers' is usually depreciated. Discrimination against others is seen in a different light. As example, I quote from a recent editorial in Die Kerkbode¹⁰³, the Dutch Reformed Church organ, written in defence of a municipality which had wanted to know the religious denomination of applicants for a certain post in the municipal administration. Why, the editor asked, if a community adhered predominantly to a certain church, should it not enquire about an applicant's religious convictions? 'Let us,' it continued, 'mention the public (government) school as an example. Must no enquiry be made about the religious conviction of the teacher instructing our children? Should this be the case, then the teacher is protected, but our children are not

protected if the teacher, let us say, belongs to a sect or to the Roman Catholic church.'

302. Churches have the right, in South Africa, to establish and maintain their own church schools, with or without state assistance. Selection of teachers on the basis of their religious adherence would seem to be in place in such religious foundations though in practice they usually employ teachers of various denominations. But there would seem to be no justification for discrimination against, e.g. Roman Catholic or Jewish or Baptist teachers in publicly maintained schools designed for the education of children of all religions under compulsory education laws.

XIV

Biculturalism and teachers' organisations.Outlook and cultural objectives. Extent of co-operation. Some cultural organisations.The National Advisory Education Council.

303. The characteristic feature of the organisation of teachers' societies in South Africa is its 'racial' or 'cultural' basis. Not only are these separate societies for Whites, Africans, Coloureds and Asians, but, within the White group, there are in each province (except in the Free State, where English-speaking teachers are a one-in-twenty minority) two teachers' societies - one open, in terms of its constitution, to all White teachers but in practice generally English-speaking in its membership, and the other an Afrikaans organisation affiliated to the F.A.K. and committed to Christian-National educational policies. There is, in addition, a Federal Council of teachers' organisations on which all the White organisations are represented. There is also provision for consultation and co-operation between the Afrikaans and English organisations at provincial level and, in the Transvaal, a common High School Teachers' Association. Co-operation between organisations representing the two White cultural groups is mainly in respect of matters in which a common interest is recognised, inter alia, in salaries, professional status and conditions of service.

This separatist parallelism has become more and more characteristic of South African cultural life in the past thirty years. We now have, co-existing on opposite sides of the language curtain, Boy Scouts and Voortrekkers, Red Cross and Noodhulpliga, Chamber of Commerce (Industry) and Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Rotary International and Rapportryers, the 'liberal' National Union of S.A. Students (NUSAS) and the 'Whites-only' Afrikaanse Studentebond, the S.A. Nursing Association and the Afrikaanse Verpleegbond(*), and many other parallel organisations ranging from trade unions to social clubs and motoring organisations. In most cases the Afrikaans body broke away from, or came into being as a substitute for, an originally open organisation which was considered 'too English', 'too liberal', or 'too international' in outlook.

304. The largest South African teachers' society, the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging (T.O.) was established in the Transvaal Republic in 1893. After the Anglo-Boer War it continued as the organisation of the teachers in the Christian-National (C.N.O.) schools set up in the Transvaal in protest against the educational policies of the state schools maintained by the Milner regime. After the absorption

* Founded to introduce the 'Afrikaans Idea' into Nursing, and to see that the 'pernicious colour liberalism' was rooted out of the profession. See Jaarverslag F.A.K., 1 Apr. 1957 - 31 March 1958, p.12.

of the C.N.O. schools following on Transvaal self-government and the Smuts Education Act, the T.O. retained its separate identity alongside the Transvaal Teachers' Association (the T.T.A.) which had been founded in 1904 as the organisation of the teachers - many of them from overseas - in the state schools. Reference has been made earlier to the hiving off, in pre-Union days, of the Cape Afrikaans teachers' society, the S.A.O.U., from the South African Teachers' Association. The S.A.O.U. has long had a larger membership than the parent body. The small Afrikaans teachers' society in Natal, the Natalse Onderwysersunie (N.O.U.) is a more recent foundation. The establishment of a separate society for Afrikaans teachers in Natal was, indeed, contemplated about forty years ago when the Afrikaans-speaking teachers of the province, a small minority had no representation on the Executive Committee of the Natal Teachers' Society, but the N.T.S. reorganised its electoral procedure on a regional basis so as to assure Afrikaner representation on its Executive and Natal teachers remained in one organisation until 1940, when the N.O.U. was founded.

305. Typically, though not exclusively, the members of the Afrikaans teachers' societies are men and women who have gone to Afrikaans-medium schools and gone on to Afrikaans-medium training colleges or universities where they had been members of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, and most of them are employed

in Afrikaans-medium schools. Similarly, the members of the predominantly English-language societies are typically men and women whose academic and professional education has been in English-medium institutions.

306. With certain reservations, it may be said that the English-language teachers' societies share the 'liberal' outlook on education of most teachers' organisations in the Western world. The reservations are mainly in respect of attitude to the non-White groups. Attitudes of English-speaking teachers to non-White South Africans vary between wide limits. Many would favour the progressive removal of discriminating practices and a steady advance towards equality of opportunity. Many feel that moves in this direction 'have got to come' but would prefer them not to come too quickly. Many believe that the White group should remain permanently in control. Because of these political differences, policies are not formulated. And there is no liaison with, or cognisance of, non-White teachers' societies. In other matters there is a greater consensus. All the societies are tolerant in religious matters, upholding the 'conscience clause' in teaching appointments. They favour 'objective' teaching of such subjects as history and oppose the political indoctrination of children. Their national loyalty transcends their own group. They think of themselves in the first place as South Africans - not as 'English-speaking South Africans'

a concept for which there is no single word in English. But they are not unaware of the educational problems created by their numerical weakness in the schools and by their permanent minority status.

307. The Afrikaans teachers' societies are essentially group-centred: all of them are committed to the Christian-National philosophy and give their loyalty and service primarily to the Afrikaner 'volk' or 'nasie', and to the furtherance of the divine mission ('roeping') of that 'nation' in Southern Africa. 'We believe in our "volk" and in its mission because we recognise the hand of God in its history' is the second article in the professional code of honour of the S.A.O.U. But while the S.A.O.U., like the others, is more strongly committed emotionally to the language group than to a wider South African nation, it is less inclined than its northern contemporaries to see the outside world as largely evil and menacing. More crudely than the S.A.O.U., the northern organisations tend to see the Afrikaner 'nation' as a besieged garrison whose very existence is imminently threatened by barbarous Black and 'liberalistic' White enemies. Consequently, the Christian-National 'moulding' of the pupils is given top priority. They have to be warned against 'unscientific stories of the equality of peoples'. They have to be 'moulded and prepared for the most important task of our time, namely how to behave from day to day in all their thinking and action in the face of the threatening Communistic conquest of the

world.'¹⁰⁴ People on the western side of the Atlantic will recognise in this 'educational theory' some of the typical features of McCarthyism. Much of it derives from Nazi propaganda of the 'thirties and of the war years.

308. As might be anticipated, the language used is often that of the military campaign. 'Never in the history of South Africa did the future of White and Christian civilisation look as dark as now...', wrote the General Secretary of the T.O. in a circular to schools¹⁰⁵. 'Principals are urged to act as field-generals in a campaign against liberalism and materialism...no separate lesson is needed...work in a little with every lesson.' And in pre-Republic address the Transvaal Administrator told principals of his province, 'We must strive to win the fight against the non-White in the classroom rather than lose it on the battlefield.'¹⁰⁶ At times the tone can become almost apocalyptic. In an end-of-the-year editorial¹⁰⁷, for example, the Orange Free State teachers' organ writes: 'Today we see the Euphrates dried up, and as the East marches through to the West we see Europe in the clutches of fear and apologising on bended knees for the fact that the European has a white skin....In Biblical times the Euphrates was the symbolic boundary between East and West. But in Revelations 16:12 it is said that there will be a time when the Euphrates shall dry up and the road from the East will be open, and that unclean spirits will then overrun the earth. We are

104. Die Onderwysblad, Nov. 64, p.334.

105. Quoted in Transvaal Educational News, Nov. 1960.

106. Onderwysblad, 1 July 1961.

107. Die Skoolblad, Dec. 1965.

now living in such a time. We see clearly how the spirit of Anti-Christ, of the deceiver and of the rejection of moral standards reigns supreme on earth.' Again in the new year¹⁰⁸, in an editorial on 'Our Fortifications', we are told, 'We are manning a besieged fortress.' Comfort comes in the form of a quotation from the Psalms¹⁰⁹: 'Pluck me forth and deliver me out of the hands of strangers, whose mouth speaks lies and whose right hand is a hand of deceit...'

309. Now of course many intelligent and level-headed Afrikaner teachers have their mental reservations about this 'besieged-fortress' or 'laager' propaganda, and some of them have criticised it quite frankly. It would, moreover, be wrong to think of even the most indoctrinated teacher as spending his school day preaching 'love of one's own' and attacking liberalism, humanism, Communism and 'unscientific stories of race equality.' Like other teachers, he has also to produce results in such comparatively unportentious studies as the three r's. But much can be done by 'working in a little bit in every lesson.' Indeed, much can be done without conscious intention. The prejudiced teacher often conveys his socially unhealthy attitudes by infection rather than by wilful indoctrination.

108. Die Skoolblad, Feb. 1966.

109. Psalm 144, 11-15.

310. It may be relevant here to mention certain cultural organisations which interest themselves in education. In previous sections, reference has been made to the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations (the F.A.K.), the cultural arm of the Broederbond (as the Nationalist Party is its political arm), and to its Institute for Christian-National Education. Linked by formal affiliation, by interlocking membership, and by a common group interest, the Afrikaans teachers' organisations and these other organisations, public and secret, afford each other powerful support in the furtherance of their objects.

311. There is no such network on the English-speaking side where the teachers' societies stand without such formidable allies. Mention should be made, however, of an English-speaking organisation of Canadian origin, the Sons of England. The S.O.E. is non-political. It has, indeed, won the commendation of the Republican Government for its dutiful expressions of loyal support. It endeavours to promote good relations between the two language groups. Among its interests is a concern for the teaching of the English language and the maintenance of English cultural traditions. Between 1954 and 1962 it awarded 270 bursaries valued at R95,000 for the training of teachers - Afrikaans-speaking as well as English-speaking - of the English language. Among other activities, it maintains an orphanage, officially for the orphans of members, but there are numbers of Afrikaans-speaking orphans

in residence. It has also a War Memorial Fund from which it has paid R400.000 to the dependents of soldiers of the two world wars.

312. The Abe Bailey Trust. The late Sir Abe Bailey bequeathed R500,000 to be used for the furtherance of his wishes a) that the South African people should in increasing measure progress in numbers, in capacity and in a spirit of national unity in membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations...and b) that the two parent stocks, British and South African Dutch, should...work together wholeheartedly in devotion to the interests of their common country.

The writer is grateful to the trustees of the Abe Bailey Trust for the following details of activities in furtherance of the objects of the Trust.

'The Trustees make payments inter alia for:-

1. Travel Bursaries: These Bursaries provide a tour to the United Kingdom each year of approximately two months' duration. Twelve senior University students or men of junior-lecturer status are selected for their leadership qualities. The undermentioned Universities provide Bursars: the University of Cape Town, the University of Stellenbosch, the University of the Orange Free State, the University of Witwatersrand, Rhodes University, the University of Natal, the University of Potchefstroom and the University of Pretoria.

'Members of the tour party are of both language groups and are deliberately put together with a view to their deriving, through discussion and the experience of living together in new and stimulating surroundings, a better appreciation of the aspirations and characteristics of the other group, and so that their minds should be broadened by travel and that a more tolerant understanding should flow from these associations.

In practice, beneficial results have been and continue to be achieved and lasting friendships have been formed across language and religious barriers. It is hoped that as leaders these men will influence others in a tolerant approach to better understanding.

2. Grants to School Libraries: Grants for the purchase of suitable books for primary and secondary schools are made for the purchase of books in the language other than the medium of instruction...

3. Teaching Bursaries: In order to encourage suitable students to take degree courses at English-medium Universities for the purpose of qualifying as teachers, bursary grants are made to the Universities of Cape Town and Rhodes and to the Johannesburg Teachers' Training College. This contribution - a substantial one - is designed to help overcome the shortage of teachers in the English language and to maintain the essential requirements of communication in a country having two official languages.

4. On the other hand, to provide practical assistance in attaining fluency in Afrikaans, the Trustees provide the following programmes:

- a) Organisation for the Advancement of Bilingualism.
- b) Du Preez Pupil Exchange Scheme.
- c) Die Afrikaanse Genootskap.

The two first-mentioned are organisations for the placing of school children during their school holidays in homes of the other language where there are children of the same age. Great care is taken in these placings but numerically the figures are substantial over a period, and not only is greater fluency achieved but lasting friendships are made across what might have been a language barrier. These organisations function primarily in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape. The Du Preez organisation also arranges bilingual holiday camps at Margate, with the same purpose, intent and result.

The Afrikaanse Genootskap provides evening classes in Afrikaans, particularly for immigrants to South Africa and those adults wishing to make a start upon learning Afrikaans. This organisation functions primarily in and around Cape Town and is supported to the extent of approximately 300 adults per annum.

5. Youth Hostels Association and Y.M.C.A. These organisations have been assisted by the Trustees because they promote the mixing of the two language groups in their ordinary daily work.

There are of course many other schemes, institutions, etc., to which the Trustees give financial support.'

313. The National Advisory Education Council. Reference has been made in an earlier section to the circumstances leading to the establishment of the National Advisory Education Council. It will be recalled that the initiative was taken by the C.N.E. movement in a memorandum submitted to the Government by a committee of the Dutch Reformed churches. While ostensibly concerned with the divided control of secondary education (general education falling under the provinces and vocational education under the central Government), the memorandum had recommended that power to legislate in matters of educational policy should be taken away from the provinces and vested in the Minister, who would be advised by a national education council which he would appoint.

314. References in the church memorandum to policy in respect of language and religious instruction as well as statements from political platforms made it apparent that the uniform policy envisaged would be designed, inter alia, to bring Natal into line with Nationalist policy in respect of parallel-medium schools and of compulsory mother-tongue instruction. But as the Natal Administration has voluntarily fallen into line by planning new schools in the cities as

single-medium institutions, need for legislation to this end has become unnecessary; and the number of Afrikaans-speaking pupils in English-medium schools is now far too few to justify, in the Government's view, disturbing its present intense efforts to secure 'White unity' on the basis of English-speaking support for its apartheid policies. The Council's activities, since its establishment on 1 January, 1963, have been carefully unprovocative but - so far - singularly unproductive.

315. Its original membership was announced on 15 October, 1962. The Executive Committee - designed as a full-time body - contained one English-speaking and four Afrikaans-speaking members, and nine of twenty-four ordinary members were English-speaking. Writing critically of the selection on the day after the announcement, the present writer wrote, inter alia:

'The Council is above all a safe committee from the Government's point of view. The largest single group - 11 members - consist of public servants. Seven are active or retired principals of Government schools or colleges, and three are principals of private schools.

'This is a committee of people trained to carry out - with a minimum of friction - policies made by other people.

'For the genuine overhaul of our educational system we should have had, in addition, representatives of the professions, of industry and of commerce - of those who are aware of the shortcomings of the end product of the educational system. With the exception of the universities, there is no such representation.

'The four Afrikaans-medium universities had five members on the Council, and four English-medium universities had one member. The chairman and both vice-chairmen were from Transvaal Afrikaans-medium universities.'¹¹⁰

316. The Council is still, after more than three years, trying to solve the problem of 'divided control'. It has also set up sub-committees to deal with various factors affecting the recruitment of teachers, curricula and syllabi, nursery school education and other matters. Much use is being made of the Bureau of Education Research for the conduct of investigations and no doubt some useful reports will in due course emerge.

110. Natal Witness, 16 Oct. 1962.



XV

Biculturalism and the curriculum. Language studies (official and other languages).

History and Social Studies. Textbooks. School and public libraries. Schools radio services.

317. The main effect of South Africa's biculturalism on the curriculum of the schools is that every child gives up an appreciable part of every school day, practically throughout school life, to the learning of the second language. This inevitably means that less time is available for the study of other subjects, e.g. the first language, arithmetic, history, geography, a circumstance which might lead to a slightly retarded growth in the ability to use the home language and to handle numbers, as well as to some retardation in the acquisition of historical and geographical concepts, etc.

In some standardised tests of achievement in English as mother-tongue applied in the Transvaal and in Australia in 1956, the Transvaal English-speaking pupils were outscored by a fair margin by the Australians. In view of the comparatively high economic status of the Transvaal pupils, the result was a surprising one. The shorter time available for instruction in English may have been at least to some extent responsible¹¹¹.

111. Education Bulletin, Transvaal Ed. Dept., March 1959.

The question arises whether the gains from bilingualism exceed losses caused by the diversion of time from other activities. The South African consensus would be that, in most cases, they do. The educational stimulation and general value of bilingualism depend to some extent on the second language learnt, its wide or restricted currency and its value as a key to a wider cultural life. But whatever the language, bilingualism in the South African situations makes for wider contacts and more sensitively informed citizenship as well as conferring valuable practical advantages.

318. The next most noticeable effect of South African biculturalism is seen in the minor place in the curriculum of our schools occupied by the ancient or foreign languages. Table Y shows the principal subjects taken in 1963 by boys in provincial schools from Standards VI to X by medium of instruction, number of pupils and percentage of pupils taking each subject. It will be seen that Greek is dead and that only 12.9 per cent of boys take Latin (27.1 per cent in the English-medium schools and 7.2 per cent in the Afrikaans-medium). Only .6 per cent take French (2.1 per cent in English-medium schools and 0 per cent in Afrikaans-medium). German fares far better than French and slightly better than Latin with 15.4 per cent (2.6 per cent in the English-medium schools and 23.2 per cent in the Afrikaans-medium, where it became popular as a) an easier, and b) a 'more useful' substitute for Latin). Table Z shows a

similar analysis for girls, the main difference from the boys being in the greater popularity of French (11.8 per cent in the English-medium and .4 per cent in the Afrikaans-medium). There are other differences between the choices of boys and girls and between those of English-medium and Afrikaans-medium pupils which need not be considered in detail. The higher percentage of the English-medium pupils taking subjects like Mathematics and Latin is related to the higher proportion of English-medium pupils proceeding to the professional schools at the universities (Cf. professional distribution shown in Table F.) Incidentally, the figures given under Group IV for 'other', i.e. parallel-medium, schools show the overwhelmingly Afrikaans enrolments of those schools. It is regrettable that the number of pupils studying the ancient or modern foreign languages in South African high schools is so low. It is one of many circumstances which tend to limit interest in and awareness of what is not 'our own', or not of the here and now. But the official languages have prior claims and until improved methods of language learning become more generally available the study of a third language is likely to be confined to a minority of our high school pupils. As things are at present, a larger investment of the time of the less able students in language study would not seem advisable.

319. It will have been obvious, from previous sections, that biculturalism, when experienced as a Kulturkampf, leads easily to distortion of educational values. In the classroom, this distortion usually shows up most clearly in the treatment of subjects like history and social studies which the two groups tend to approach from differing points of view. It also occurs in other subjects. The dogma of the 'equality of the two languages' often leads Afrikaans teachers to overvalue modestly meritorious Afrikaans 'prescribed books' for high-school examinations in a way which must retard the development of literary judgement in their pupils. No doubt, such cverevaluations might be made even in a unilingual community, but the need to live up to the Jones's on the other side of the language boundary seems to be a strong incentive. Consider the following paragraph from an essay¹¹² by Professor Dr. P.D. van Der Walt in the current issue of an academic journal:

'One might also say that the work of art is at once of its time and timeless, local (or national) and cosmic. Its power and beauty are not limited by time or space, as is proved by the great literary works of art of our civilisation, e.g. the Psalms, the Book of Job, the Iliad, the Divine Comedy, Lucifer, Hamlet, Germanicus, or Kroniek van Kristien.'

The inclusion of the two recent Afrikaans works - Van Wyk Louw's verse drama, Germanicus, and Opperman's 176-line poem, Kroniek van Kristien - as the only post-seventeenth-century works in even the most casually drawn-up short list of the

112. 'Tradisie en vernuwing in die letterkunde.' In Bulletin van die Suid-Afrikaanse Vereniging vir die bevordering van Christelike Wetenskap, Potchefstroom, Feb.1966, p.19.

'great literary works of art of our civilisation' would seem to owe more to Prof. van der Walt's group consciousness than to his literary judgement. If our 'two cultures' could co-exist more peacefully, such lapses might be rarer and genuine poets might be spared embarrassment.

320. The slanted teaching of history in schools is now recognised throughout the world as a major cause of international misunderstanding and division, and enlightened governments have co-operated in international programmes for the revision of biased textbooks. Very much remains to be done. But it is not only internationally that the teaching of history may cause tension and hostility. It may do so equally between the different groups of a bicultural or multicultural nation. It is a potent divisive factor in South Africa.

321. The slanted teaching of history may be the work of a biased teacher. Such a teacher may wilfully distort the facts in order to support his cause. More usually, he may unwittingly present the facts, or some of them, in a false light because he is unaware that his own attitude is prejudiced and his own grasp of the facts faulty. He simply passes on the hostile attitudes and the 'brief for the prosecution' which he himself has received. In South Africa, where ideals of group separation and of 'love of one's own' are so strongly held, where, next to the mother-

tongue, the study of the history of the group is regarded in high places as the prime instrument for fostering 'love of one's own', history is inevitably presented by group-centred teachers from an angle which placed the in-group in the most favourable light.

322. Disquieting evidence of the dangers of biased history teaching in the Transvaal is provided in the recently published book, The Power of Prejudice in South African Education, by Mr. F.E. Auerbach¹¹³. The book is based on a master's thesis accepted by the University of the Witwatersrand and presents the results of a systematic study of history textbooks approved for use in Transvaal schools and also of certain Transvaal syllabuses.

323. Mr. Auerbach first examined certain history textbooks which had been written in Afrikaans for use in Afrikaans-medium schools and had then been translated into English for use in English-medium schools. He found numerous departures from the original, designed, generally, to make the passages more acceptable to English-speaking users. Tendentious nuances of phraseology were toned down and indications of prejudice against various out-groups, e.g. Catholics, English, Jews, non-Whites, 'liberalists', missionaries, eliminated.

113. Balkema, Cape Town, 1965. Mr. Auerbach teaches in Johannesburg and is the present chairman of the Transvaal Teachers' Association.

I quote some examples:

- (a) Afrikaans: Catholic churches were stormed and images of the "saints" destroyed.
- English: Catholic churches were besieged and holy images destroyed. (N.B. Inverted commas removed).
- (b) Afrikaans: There were grounds for some of the Uitlander grievances, but most of them were exaggerated.
- English: Certain of the grievances of the Uitlanders were justified, but many of them were exaggerated.
- (c) On Joan of Arc.
- Afrikaans: This cruel sentence was carried out.
- English: This sentence was carried out.
- (d) Caption under picture.
- Afrikaans: Queen Elizabeth who sent so many pirate-explorers to the New World.
- English: Queen Elizabeth who sent so many explorers to the New World.
- (e) Afrikaans: India acts as the champion of the Non-Whites in Africa and incites them against the White nations of the West.
- English: India acts as the champion of the Non-Whites in Africa.
- (f) Afrikaans: This ordinance also unmasked the liberal-mindedness of the governor.
- English: This ordinance was an indication of the liberal-mindedness of the governor.
- (g) Afrikaans: Cradock...who would not neglect to maintain law and order against the kaffirs.*
- English: Cradock...who promised to be most conscientious and firm in his handling of the natives.

* 'Kaffir' and 'coolie' are terms which give offence.

- (h) Afrikaans: In 1859 the first coolies* arrived from India.
- English: In 1859 the Indians arrived to work in the sugar plantations of Natal.
- (i) Afrikaans: The Uitlanders complained that Dutch was the official language.
- English: The Uitlanders complained that Dutch was the only official language.
- (j) Afrikaans: MacMillan, a former professor at the Rand University, did everything in his power to defend and practically to exonerate Dr. Philip. This he did on the grounds of his intimate knowledge of Dr. Philip, whom he honoured as a family member, and whom he got to know from a mass of letters and documents. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Dr. Philip did much harm in South Africa. He was a political missionary who stirred up racial hatred in our fatherland to the utmost.
- English: MacMillan, formerly a professor of history at the Witwatersrand University, did everything in his power to defend and exonerate Dr. Philip. This he did on the grounds of his intimate knowledge of the man but, despite the many letters and documents cited in his defence, many people believe that Philip did much harm in South Africa. He has been described as a political missionary who did much to stir up racial hatred in the country.
- (k) Afrikaans: On this expedition the Boers ransacked Livingstone's house and found guns and ammunition in it, more than the missionary ever needed for his own use and protection - and that was clear proof that Livingstone had violated (geskend) one of the clauses of the Sand River Convention by providing the natives with arms.
- English: On this punitive expedition the Boers ransacked the home of Livingstone, a missionary who had been sent out under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, and there they found a quantity of guns and ammunition, which, they declared, were too many for the missionary's private use. He was naturally suspected of supplying arms to the natives.

* 'Kaffir' and 'coolie' are terms which give offence.

324. While the English version in all these cases has been toned down to avoid offending English susceptibilities, the Afrikaans version will obviously confirm the prejudices of many Afrikaans-speaking teachers and pupils. The English-speaking and the Afrikaans-speaking children are being given two differently coloured versions of historical events.

325. Chapters Three and Four compare a) several approved textbooks on General History and b) several on South African History. While some of the books emerge honourably from the examination, others, particularly among those dealing with South African History, are shown to be guilty of biased wording (tendentious and denigratory epithets), lack of balance, omission of vital facts, and one-sided presentation, among other offences. Chapter Five reviews the treatment in school textbooks of a key event in South African history, the first contacts between Europeans and Africans on the eastern border of the Cape, and shows this to be very one-sided in many cases, presenting the situation in emotionally coloured terms from the point of view of the White cattle farmers and taking small notice, or none, of certain of facts essential to an understanding of the situation, or of the results of modern research. Chapter Six discusses recent changes in Transvaal syllabuses showing a tendency to reduce what the Transvaal child learns about the outside world and to increase the emphasis on the Great Trek and on the historical

rather than the contemporary aspect of Black-White relations. Chapter Seven discusses the background to the new syllabuses, showing the Christian-National inspiration of several features. Chapter Eight deals with essential Christian-National tenets as reflected in textbooks and compares them with the Nazi ideas of race superiority to which leading Christian-Nationalists were sympathetic. In a concluding chapter, Mr. Auerbach discusses the increasing ethnocentrism of the education of White pupils in the Transvaal and indicates that several aspects of this ethnocentrism which were formerly found only in certain Afrikaans textbooks are now part of the syllabuses prescribed for all schools, despite official policies of promoting national unity. He also discusses the increasing tendency to emphasise 'White civilisation', as opposed to 'Black barbarism', and suggests that failure to eradicate the prejudices in yesterday's textbooks has made possible the more intense prejudices of some of today's books. He calls for a reversal of current trends and for a new spirit of mutual respect and tolerance.

326. Uniform-core syllabuses are at present in preparation for the use of schools in all provinces. One anticipates that they will show reasonable balance in controversial matters. It would be better if non-White educationists were associated with syllabus construction in such subjects as history but there would seem to be little prospect of that. Syllabuses are usually quite neutrally worded and show bias, where there is bias, mainly by emphasis on favoured topics or by unbalanced

time allocations. Textbooks show bias, where there is bias, more directly. But the group-centred teacher in the classroom is out of public hearing, and reforms which leave him unreformed do not get to the root of the matter.

327. School and public libraries. There has been great development of school and public library services throughout South Africa in the past 15-20 years. Previously, the major cities had good public libraries, but the smaller urban centres and the countryside were very poorly served. Now well-organised provincial library services circulate books on ever-increasing scale to local libraries and book depots throughout the country, bringing books to people who previously read little and rarely, if ever, bought books. Provincial school library services circulate books for general reading to the schools, while helping each school to build up its own permanent library stock. Some recent statistics will indicate the volume of the service. It is to be borne in mind, of course, that the figures do not include circulations in the public libraries of the larger cities which do not draw on provincial book stocks.

Orange Free State Schools, 1963

	Afrikaans	English	Other
Provincial Schools	282,679	266,691	5,009
Aided Schools	2,208	14,611	44

Cape, Transvaal and Free State Provincial Libraries

Service	Afrikaans Fiction	English Fiction	Non- Fiction
Cape Provincial Library:			
Adults, 1962	1,521,525	2,844,803	716,390
Children, 1962	869,361	548,196	425,348
Coloured Adults, 1962	201,009	87,708	29,172
Coloured Children, 1962	296,388	97,136	53,781
Transvaal Provincial Library:			
European, 1964	2,893,424	2,656,584	575,130
Coloured & Asian, 1964	11,317	11,557	5,921
O.F.S. Provincial Library:			
Adults, 1963	588,270	546,254	120,034
Children, 1963	503,754	143,293	41,363

(a) Natal School Library Depots, 1964.

(b) Natal Provincial Library, 1964.

	English		Afrikaans	
	Adults	Juveniles	Adults	Juveniles
(a) (Fiction	8,231	239,256	3,818	178,173
(Non-Fiction	2,826	53,443	380	22,428
(b) (Fiction	1,146,740	194,114	136,699	68,436
(Non-Fiction	183,708	20,103	4,078	3,784

328. It will be appreciated that these library services have led to a great expansion of Afrikaans book production. With the Afrikaans titles available being inevitably very much fewer than those in English, much larger numbers of each book have to be purchased to meet reader demands. Substantial and more or less reckonable sales of suitable

books to the library services remove much of the risk normally attaching to the publication of books for a limited market.

329. Schools radio services. South Africa has, as yet, no public television services, and, of course, no schools television. This is regrettable, and not least so in respect of the teaching of the two official languages. For some years we had a schools broadcast service but it was not very good and is at present not functioning and, apparently, not much missed. It is unfortunate that very many South Africans regard S.A.B.C. broadcasts on opinion-forming topics as deliberately propagandistic. Others, of course, approve of them. The partiality of the S.A.B.C. is regularly condemned at congresses of Opposition parties. Its impartiality is as vehemently applauded at congresses of the ruling National party. As at present directed, it seems as unlikely to contribute to good inter-group relations within the schools as outside.

TABLE Y

PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS TAKEN BY PUPILS FROM ST. VI TO X, INCLUDING
ADAPTATION CLASS, BY MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION, NUMBER AND PER
CENT - PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963.

BOYS

Subject	Number				Per cent			
	Total	Medium of school			Total	Medium of school		
		Eng.	Afr.	Other		Eng.	Afr.	Other
<u>Group I</u>								
Geography	40,986	20,525	10,921	9,540	36.7	59.6	30.9	22.8
History	60,273	20,697	21,361	18,215	54.0	60.1	60.4	43.5
History & Geography	16,333	5,317	3,940	7,076	14.6	15.4	11.1	16.9
Ethnology	39,843	12,197	16,344	11,302	35.7	35.4	46.2	27.0
Social Studies	6,822	386	989	5,447	6.1	1.1	2.8	13.0
<u>Group II</u>								
Hygiene	719	196	215	308	.6	2.0	.6	.7
<u>Group III</u>								
Art	40,501	12,193	16,791	11,517	36.3	35.4	47.5	27.5
<u>Group IV</u>								
Afrikaans Higher	70,645	3	34,873	35,769	63.3	-	98.7	85.5
Afrikaans Lower	40,787	34,432	-	6,355	36.5	99.9	-	15.1
English Higher	41,151	33,080	858	7,213	36.9	96.0	2.4	17.2
English Lower	70,179	887	34,320	34,972	62.9	2.5	97.2	83.6

TABLE Y
(page 2)

Subject	Number			Total	Per cent			
	Medium of school				Total	Medium of school		
	Total	Eng.	Afr.			Other	Eng.	Afr.	Other
<u>Group V(a)</u> German French Latin Bookkeeping and Comm. Arithmetic Bookkeeping and Business Methods	17,290	905	8,217	8,168	15.4	2.6	23.2	19.5
	779	756	14	9	.6	2.1	-	-
	14,420	9,345	2,565	2,510	12.9	27.1	7.2	6.0
	24,113	4,386	8,332	11,395	21.6	12.7	23.5	27.2
<u>Group V(c)</u> Manual Training (Industrial Arts) Woodwork <u>Group VI</u> General Science General Mathematics Biology Mathematics Physics & Chemistry Arithmetic Total no. of pupils	21,438	4,710	7,308	9,420	19.2	13.6	20.6	22.5
	205	104	1	100	.1	.3	-	-
	44,310	12,511	18,955	12,844	39.7	36.3	53.6	30.7
	16,927	2,787	4,652	9,488	15.1	8.0	13.1	22.6
<u>Group VI</u> General Science General Mathematics Biology Mathematics Physics & Chemistry Arithmetic Total no. of pupils	75,873	19,619	28,275	27,979	68.0	56.9	80.0	66.9
	20,795	7,182	7,437	6,176	18.6	20.8	21.0	14.7
	14,141	2,893	5,289	5,959	12.6	8.4	14.9	14.2
	71,757	24,718	20,356	26,683	64.3	71.8	57.6	63.8
	24,320	11,157	5,313	7,850	21.8	32.3	15.0	18.1
	31,158	11,200	10,637	9,321	27.9	32.5	30.1	22.2
	111,566	34,436	35,310	41,820	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE Z

PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS TAKEN BY PUPILS FROM ST. VI TO X, INCLUDING ADAPTATION CLASS,
BY MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION, NUMBER AND PER CENT -
PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963.

GIRLS

	Number			Total	Per cent			
	Medium of school				Medium of school			
	Total	Eng.	Afr.		Other	Eng.	Afr.	Other
<u>Group I</u>								
Geography	31,979	15,584	9,687	6,708	30.7	74.6	27.3	17.7
History	57,181	18,375	22,331	16,475	54.8	59.4	62.9	43.5
History & Geography	14,836	5,253	3,544	6,039	14.2	17.0	9.9	15.9
Ethnology	39,746	10,732	10,557	18,457	38.1	34.7	29.7	48.7
Social Studies	7,042	570	1,384	5,088	6.7	1.8	3.8	13.4
<u>Group II</u>								
Hygiene	682	228	192	262	6	7	5	6
Domestic Science	55,953	13,634	23,153	19,166	53.6	44.1	65.2	50.6
Needlework	9,154	1,765	2,470	5,279	9.1	5.7	6.9	13.9
<u>Group III</u>								
Art	41,698	11,513	18,447	11,738	40.0	37.2	51.9	31.0
<u>Group IV</u>								
Afrikaans Higher	68,865	80	35,430	33,355	66.1	2	99.8	88.2
Afrikaans Lower	35,201	30,540	-	4,661	33.8	98.8	-	12.3
English Higher	36,553	30,334	1,109	5,110	35.0	98.2	3.1	13.5

TABLE Z
(page 2)

	Number			Per cent		
	Total	Medium of school			Total	Medium of school
		Eng.	Afr.	Other		
English Lower	67,344	220	34,254	32,870	64.6	Eng. 0.7
German	19,056	580	9,916	8,560	18.2	1.8
French	4,576	3,650	175	751	4.3	11.8
Latin	12,122	6,806	2,109	3,207	11.5	22.0
<u>Group V(a)</u>						
Bookkeeping	24,338	4,563	8,859	10,916	23.3	14.7
Bookkeeping & Comm.	15,856	2,702	5,754	7,400	15.2	8.7
Arithmetic	216	87	-	129	2	2
Bookkeeping & Business	30,729	4,689	12,024	14,016	29.4	15.1
Methods	3,535	2,052	624	859	3.3	6.6
Typewriting & Office	1,100	921	25	154	1.0	2.9
Routine	2,355	1	1,154	1,200	2.2	-
Shorthand						1.7
Snelskrif						-
<u>Group VI</u>						
General Science	74,347	19,110	28,746	26,491	71.3	61.8
General Mathematics	19,085	5,836	7,677	5,572	18.3	18.8
Biology	22,432	9,039	6,369	7,024	21.5	29.2
Mathematics	36,250	14,255	9,643	12,352	34.7	46.1
Physics & Chemistry	5,389	1,563	1,647	2,179	5.1	5.0
Arithmetic	31,418	10,992	11,670	8,756	30.1	35.5
Total no. of pupils	104,216	30,884	35,499	37,833	100.0	100.0
						100.0
						80.9
						21.6
						17.9
						27.1
						4.6
						32.8
						70.0
						14.7
						18.5
						32.6
						5.7
						23.1
						100.0

XVI

Biculturalism and the Non-White Schools

330. The present report is directly concerned only with the orientation of the education of the White groups. Any general treatment of the education of the non-White groups would therefore fall outside its scope. But the White groups are not alone in South Africa. Indeed, together they form a minority of less than twenty per cent of the total population¹¹⁴. The status of each of the two official languages in the schools of the non-White eighty-per-cent of the population is clearly a matter of importance in the total bicultural situation. Some reference to it is therefore considered to be necessary.

331. For reasons which will be clear from earlier sections, English has played a major part in the educational development of South Africa's non-White peoples. It was the language in which modern education was brought to the African peoples in all four provinces in the days before their own languages had been adapted, to the extent that they are now, to school use.

114. See Section 1 for details of population and language distribution.

And it has continued to play a major role because of its unsurpassed value as a supplementary educational language for people whose own language has only limited currency and, as yet, only limited educational apparatus. It was, until recently, the medium of instruction above the elementary level in most African schools. It was the medium of the open¹¹⁵ universities. It was the medium of the South African Native College at Fort Hare, which drew students, Coloured, Indian and African, irrespective of tribe, from all over South Africa. It was the lingua franca of educated Africans not only in Southern Africa but over large areas of Central, Eastern and West Africa as well.

332. Those who regarded English as 'the language of the enemies of our language'¹¹⁶ found this situation displeasing. The F.A.K. gave it attention as early as 1931. In Section V of this report there is a quotation from the record of the 1937 congress of the F.A.K. in which concern was expressed at the fact that 'whether we like(d) it or not', some millions of

115. The 'open' universities were the English-medium universities which admitted students of all racial groups until prohibited by apartheid legislation.

116. 'Die taal van ons taalvyande.'

natives were receiving more and more education. 'And where does the educated native range himself?' It did not help to 'say with distaste' that we did not want him with us - that was by no means the plan. But we also did not want him against us, for that would make the counter-current irresistibly strong. So 'we must see to it in the first place that the native learns Afrikaans.' This would 'give us an extra seven million people and make Afrikaans the dominant language in this part of the world'. There would also be other advantages. 'If every kaffir in South Africa spoke Afrikaans the economic power of Afrikaans would be so great that we should no longer need an F.A.K. to look after our cultural interests'. Therefore, 'Do not think that the "kaffir" who speaks Afrikaans is insulting your language. He can be our cultural servant as he is our farm servant.'

333. In the war years, the matter had further attention. Reference was made in a previous section to the proposed demotion of English in a draft republican constitution prepared by the National Party and published by the Ossewa-brandwag in July 1941. Mr. J.G. Strydom, leader of the Transvaal Nationalists, took up the topic again the following

year. 'Every Afrikaner who is worthy of the name,' said Mr. Strydom, 'cherishes the ideal that South Africa will ultimately have only one language, and that language must be Afrikaans' ¹¹⁷.

334. But our concern here is with the implications of these ideas for the non-White schools. In 1942 Professor R.F. Nel ¹¹⁸ of Pretoria University published a book in which he pleaded for a Christian-National system of Native Education, in which the principle of mother-tongue education would be applied in African Schools and Afrikaans, not English, would become the second language in these schools. Professor Nel offers several reasons. The African must learn Afrikaans 'because it is for him the most natural key to Western culture and civilisation. It is the language which, like his own

117. Die Transvaler, 21 Feb. 1942. In 1955 when Mr Strydom had succeeded Dr. Malan as Prime Minister, the present Minister of Social Welfare, Mr J.J. Serfontein, 'said amid repeated applause that he reiterated what the Prime Minister had said: namely that there will never be racial peace between Afrikaner and Englishman before everyone is united under one flag and one language.' -- (Die Transvaler, 21 Feb. 1955). However, a similar statement made afterwards by a lesser figure was deprecated by a Nationalist newspaper. Such statements, it was held, 'made the English uneasy.'

118. Naturelle-Opvoeding en -onderwys. Deel II. 'n Christelik Nasionale Stelsel. Prof. B.F. Nel. Nasionale Pers, 1942.

language, originated and grew on the soil of Africa and is therefore more adapted to his mentality than English....'

Professor Nel is therefore 'convinced that Afrikaans is the proper bridge for the nationally formed Native who wishes to enrich his mind with Western cultural elements.'¹¹⁹

Still another reason is offered: 'The greater measure of uniformity in respect of religion among the Afrikaners is a further reason why the Native must be brought into contact with Western civilisation via Afrikaans. This uniformity of religion will cause less mental conflict in the Native than the numbers of religions, sects and creeds which he will meet if he first comes into contact with the English language and culture....' And yet another reason:

'Fourthly, there are economic reasons associated with cultural expansion which are the due of the Afrikaner and not of the foreigner.'¹²⁰

335. In the primary school, continues Professor Nel, there is, on educational grounds, no room for a third language¹²¹. 'English can, however, be introduced as a modern language in

119. Ibid., p.103.

120. Ibid., p.105.

121. Ibid., p.110.

the secondary school. In this way the Native will be enabled to make acquaintance with the English language and culture. This process of making acquaintance with a foreign culture¹²² should then not be so difficult for the Native, seeing that he will already have knowledge of a White language and culture, a language and culture which has developed, grown and flourished here on South African soil and is therefore adapted to local circumstances.'

336. Professor Nel's programme for other aspects of African education is also of interest. 'It is the intention that the natives will be responsible for the financial side of the maintenance of the whole system - naturally under White leadership, particularly in the beginning in view of the fact that in the early stages the Whites will have to contribute financially to develop the native areas to such an extent that they will be able to support the native people.'¹²³ And 'It must be emphasised that, if the natives are to be educated to be true Christian-National beings (wesens) it is the duty of the Whites, in accord with a segregation policy for the natives, to educate them in

122. 'Uitheimse kultuur.'

123. Ibid., p.27.

their own areas.'¹²⁴ .

337. It will be recalled further that the official Christian-National policy statement of 1948 claimed for 'the Afrikaner' special rights of trusteeship over Coloured education as 'part of the mission of the Afrikaner to christianise¹²⁵ the non-White races.' For the African, the statement set out a policy of 'trusteeship, no equality and segregation', and claimed the right to base the education of the Africans on the 'view of life' of the Whites and, more particularly, of the Boerenasie as the 'senior White trustee of the native.' Further, education of the non-White groups 'should not be at the expense of White education'. There is no reference to Indian education in the policy statement. At that time the policy of the National Party for the Indian group was repatriation.

124. Ibid., p.49.

125. Apart from the small Malay group who remain Muslim, the Coloured people have long been Christian. (Table A2 shows the religious affiliations of Whites, Africans and Coloureds. The use of the word 'christianise' in the section of the policy statement dealing with Coloured education is an example of the technique of increasing the 'distance' between White and non-White. The sentimental regard shown at times by Nationalists for the Malay sub-group is no doubt in part based on the fact that the Malays, by retaining their Muslim faith, have themselves preserved distance in the fundamental matter of religion.

TABLE A2
Religion : Whites, Coloureds and Africans,
Census of 1960

	Whites	Coloureds	Africans
Dutch Reformed Churches	1,618,156	453,982	557,039
Anglican	389,859	268,620	750,410
Presbyterian	110,873	7,545	205,370
Congregational	16,656	137,358	135,188
Methodist	269,825	117,903	1,319,672
Lutheran	33,631	73,457	540,038
Roman Catholic	192,799	119,845	762,983
Apostolic	107,700	69,638	304,643
Bantu Churches	-	-	2,190,558
Other Christian	166,098	132,225	507,768
Jewish	116,066		
Islam		93,256	
Other and unspecified	66,829	35,429	3,654,253
Total	3,088,492	1,509,258	10,927,922

338. These representative views of the Nationalist cultural establishment in the years up to 1948 give insight into some of the intentions which have inspired the major changes in non-White education made by the National Party since it came to power in that year and proceeded, by the practical elimination of the non-White vote, to entrench itself

permanently in power¹²⁶.

339. Soon after its election in 1948, the Malan Government set up a Commission to investigate African education. In its early days, African education had been a missionary

126. The National Party has now to all appearance achieved its long-term goal - a party-system with a non-swinging pendulum - which gives it much of the power monopoly of a one-party state combined with much of the respectability of 'government by representative institutions'. Not content with the numerical preponderance of the Afrikaans-speaking in the White group (the Afrikaner-English proportions are approximately 58:37), and with a system of 'loading' and 'unloading' constituencies which grossly exaggerates the value of the rural vote, the Nationalists, since 1948, have taken away all Parliamentary representation from the Africans and Indians and removed the Coloured voters from the common roll, leaving them mere token representation (four members who must be Whites - elected on a segregated roll - in a House of 170 members). These were but the latest steps in an operation which began in the early 1930s when a Nationalist government halved the weight of the non-White vote by giving the franchise (hitherto a male privilege) to White women, while refusing to extend it to qualified non-White women, and further reduced it by extending the vote to Whites without qualification, while retaining the qualification barrier for non-Whites seeking registration. Vigorously exploiting White fears and prejudices and, within the White group, as vigorously nourishing Afrikaner sectional sentiment (as in the present Republican celebrations) the National Party has nothing to fear from its cut-to-measure electorate until the inherent contradictions of its apartheid policies and the requirements of a rapidly expanding, integrated economy bring home to the Whites in unmistakable fashion the need for a national ideal which will comprehend all groups of the population.

enterprise, and it had developed later under the joint direction of the Christian missions and the provincial education departments. The churches mainly concerned were the Anglican, the Methodist, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran and those represented on the joint American Mission Board. Others had substantial commitments. All had an honourable record of service, extending in some cases over a hundred years. In view of the number of different missions, the system was in some ways untidy, and it had always been grossly underfinanced. But in 1945 the Smuts Government had accepted its maintenance as a legitimate charge on general revenue and from that year more generous financial provision was made. The system had notable achievements to its credit. The level of literacy among our African peoples was the highest in Africa. There was an African teaching corps of steadily improving quality, and the European teachers in the training colleges and high schools were, predominantly, men and women whose service in African schools was inspired by missionary ideals.

340. But the Nationalists had long been critical of the system. It was not sufficiently in accord with the

Christian-National principles of non-equality and segregation. It was too 'academic'. There was too much English. The system produced 'synthetic Whites' said one Member of Parliament. It was 'teaching Natives to compete with Europeans,' said another. It 'misled the Native by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze', said Dr Verwoerd. 'The only sound policy,' said Mr. C.R. Swart, was that 'the Natives should be educated in their own manner, and should learn to be good Natives as tribal Natives, and should not be imitators of the White man'. 127

341. The Commission in due course made some useful recommendations, e.g. for the expansion of teacher training in proportion with growing enrolments, and for the expansion of vocational education, neither of which has been carried out. It also recommended that the Government should take over control of African education, that a system of community schools should be developed and that the principle of

127. There could have been some force in this contention had South Africa been a purely agricultural country with plenty of land to enable all groups to support themselves by traditional agricultural techniques. But the well-being of all our people depends on the place they can win for themselves in South Africa's integrated, industrialised modern economy in which the great majority of the Africans are already in low-level employment. In these circumstances, education for tribalism is education for poverty.

mother-tongue medium should be systematically extended throughout the school.

342. In 1954 control of African education passed to the Department of Native Affairs, and afterwards to the new Department of Bantu Education. The record since has been an unhappy one. While enrolments have continued to grow, standards have been seriously depressed. The main instrument in forcing standards down has been financial. The unit cost (average cost per annum per pupil enrolled) has been reduced from R17 in 1954 to R13 in 1963, i.e. over a period of years in which the value of the rand was steadily falling. Expenditure on African schools took 0.57 per cent of the net national income in 1953-54. In 1963-64 - despite greatly increased enrolments - it took only 0.396 per cent.

343. Here we are concerned only with changes affecting English and Afrikaans. Under the provinces, the African vernacular had been the medium of instruction throughout the lower primary school and had gradually been replaced as medium in the upper primary standards by one of the official languages. The official language chosen - in all provinces - in the overwhelming majority of cases had been

English. English had, of course, been in use before Afrikaans had become a school language. It had retained its place, in all the provinces, because of its pre-eminent suitability as a supplementary language: if one has to replace or supplement the mother-tongue because of its limited currency and comparative lack of the apparatus of learning, it is obviously desirable that the substitute should be a language of widest currency and richest resources. But the new system of Bantu Education was to bring drastic changes in the school languages.

344. Firstly, the principle of mother-tongue as medium was applied throughout the upper primary school, that is, to the end of the eighth year of schooling, and the use of an official language (in practice generally English) as medium in these classes was discontinued¹²⁸.

345. Secondly, both official languages had to be taught as subjects to all children from the first school year, one

128. The overwhelming majority of African teachers were, and are, opposed to this change. See the 'summary of replies to question 9' on page 30 of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Teaching of the Official Languages and the Use of the Mother Tongue as Medium of Instruction in Transkeian Primary Schools. RP 22/1963. Govt. Printer, Pretoria. Note also that the Transkei (Xhosa) Legislative Assembly has now authorised Transkei schools to introduce English or Afrikaans gradually as medium from Std. III (not VI); and that all the schools have selected English.

from the beginning and the second from six months later. Both languages are then given equal time throughout the primary school course. Many witnesses who appeared before the Transkeian Commission criticised this 'almost simultaneous introduction of three languages' during the child's first seven months at school¹²⁹. The Commission¹³⁰ recommended that the introduction of the second official language should be postponed until the beginning of the third school year. This recommendation was rejected by the Government as incompatible with the principle of the 'equality of treatment of the two official languages.' The standard of the work in Afrikaans is poor: the teachers are poorly qualified and teachers of a third language cannot be mass-produced overnight. The standard in English has seriously deteriorated and, when the Commission reported, was 'very, very low indeed'.¹³¹ But then, 'the Commission's own observations in those schools visited seemed to indicate

129. Op. cit., p.10.

130. For a critical discussion of the Commission and its Report see Branford, W.R.G., 'Official languages in the Transkei', in Theoria, XXI, University of Natal Press, 1963.

131. Op. cit., p.3

an almost frighteningly low standard of education in
all subjects.¹³²

346. Perhaps one may digress to point out an apparent inconsistency between the emphasis on Afrikaans in African schools and the policy of apartheid, or 'separate development' as it is now called. In apartheid theory Africans are citizens of the tribal reserves - the 'Bantustans' to be. They are Xhosa citizens, Zulu citizens, etc., but not South African citizens. They have, therefore, no citizenship or other rights in 'White South Africa' where most of them live but where they are, according to the theory, 'temporary sojourners', entitled to stay only as long as their labour is required. In due course - again in theory - they are to leave 'White South Africa' for their tribal or 'national' reserves where they will enjoy 'separate freedom'. They were to have been removed from the largely Afrikaans-speaking Western Cape by 1967 (the date is receding). Over 'White South Africa' as a whole they are supposed to be in massive exodus from the year 1978. If this date has more than mystic significance, if the Africans are indeed to go and live in the reserves and to live substantially

132. Op. cit., p.18.

on the product of the reserves, what they need at school is not tribalism and not trilingualism, but a crash programme of mathematics, science and technology.

347. The African vernaculars cannot yet be profitably used as media of instruction in the academic subjects in secondary schools. On this point there is general agreement. But the use of the African languages in religious instruction and in the teaching of certain 'practical' subjects is encouraged. Of the secondary subjects not taught through the vernacular, half must now, as far as possible, be taught through the medium of English and half through the medium of Afrikaans. Enough teachers capable of teaching mathematics, etc. in Afrikaans are not yet available for the general carrying out of this programme. Where such teachers are not available, permission to use the other language has to be obtained. For the present, English is still the most widely used secondary medium.

348. The position in our African schools is thus that all children must learn three languages throughout their primary school course with a view to their using all three concurrently as media of instruction in the secondary schools.

It is a situation without parallel in the history of popular education. Were the teachers highly qualified linguistically and all other circumstances favourable, the programme would be a heavy one for the pupils. In the circumstances of our African schools, it is a quite unjustifiable programme.

349. The Transkeian Commission's report ¹³³ strongly opposed the triple-medium policy in the secondary schools and recommended that only one official language should be used in any school as medium in addition to the mother tongue. 'Any attempt,' it reported, 'to make both official languages the mother-tongue substitutes must be firmly rejected as a violation of important educational principles.' Despite his Commission's recommendation, the

133. The Commission, appointed shortly before the grant of a measure of self-government to the Transkei, consisted of four African members (including the chairman) with two Afrikaans-speaking inspectors of schools as assessor members. In view of the terms of reference, it was blameworthy of the Minister to appoint no English-speaking assessor. While the report makes some pertinent criticisms and some valuable suggestions, it suffers from this Ministerial remissness. It is not suggested that the two assessors did not strive, according to their lights, to do justice to both official languages. The difficulty was that both their lights were of the same colour.

Minister has decreed the continuation of the triple-medium policy. This decision is the more remarkable as the policy is inconsistent with basic Christian-National doctrine on medium of instruction: if dual medium instruction causes mental conflict and retards educational progress in White schools, with their well-qualified teachers, how much more harmful must triple-medium education be in African schools.

350. The difficulty of finding staff to carry out the Bantu Education Department's extraordinary trilingual-medium policy may well be the main reason for the slowing down of expansion of secondary enrolments, as compared with total enrolments, since that Department took over from the provinces. The following table shows enrolments in African schools from Sub A to Form V¹³⁴ at five-yearly intervals from 1928 to 1963.

134. White, Coloured and Indian schools have a twelve-year course from admission to school to university entrance: Sub-standards A and B followed by Standards I to X; African (Bantu) schools have a thirteen-year course, Sub A and B, followed by Standards I to VI, followed by Forms I to V.

Enrolments in African Schools, Sub A to Form V

Year	Total Enrolment	Enrolment in Forms I-V	Forms I-V as per- centage of total enrolment	Enrolment in Form V	Form V as percentage of total enrolment
1928	241,775	1,071	.44	13	.005
1933	314,814	2,256	.72	37	.012
1938	424,356	4,090	.96	118	.028
1943	531,566	8,982	1.69	247	.046
1948	749,179	18,393	2.46	528	.070
1953	887,949	30,838	3.47	640	.072
1958	1,338,424	41,568	3.11	938	.070
1963	1,764,150	53,444	3.02	1,040	.059

351. It will be observed from the above Table that pupils in the five secondary forms had constituted a steadily increasing percentage of the total enrolment in Bantu schools during the quarter of a century preceding the introduction of the Bantu Education system. Since the take-over from the provinces, however, the proportion of secondary pupils to the whole has shown no further expansion. Secondary enrolments averaged 3.3 per cent of the total over the transition years 1953-55. Since 1955 they have not risen above 3.2 per cent the 1960 figure. In 1963 they made up only 3.02 per cent of the total.

Enrolments in Form V, which represented .072 of the total in 1953, were down to .059 in 1963.

352. This decline has been contrary to what previous experience would have led one to anticipate. In each previous decade reflected in the Table (1928-38, 1933-43, 1938-48, 1943-53) the percentage of the total enrolment to be found in secondary classes had at least doubled. If this momentum had been maintained, secondary classes in 1963 would have made up about 7 per cent of the total enrolment. A flow of secondary pupils of these proportions would have made a most valuable contribution to South Africa's manpower resources.

353. South Africa, and the African school children in particular, would seem to be paying a high price for the Department's stubbornness.

354. On university education we may be brief. Before 1948, non-White students could pursue their studies at the 'open' English-medium universities or, less expensively, at the university college of Fort Hare, which drew its students, African, Coloured, Indian, from all parts of South Africa. English was the medium of instruction and the lingua franca of the students. Apart from full-time students, very many part-time students followed correspondence courses of the

University of South Africa. Over the past decade, radical changes have been made. The 'open' universities have been denied the right to admit non-White students, save, in individual cases, with the approval of the Minister. Fort Hare has been made a tribal university college for the Xhosas, another tribal college has been opened in Zululand for the Zulus and a third in the Transvaal for the small tribes. In this way, African students are isolated not only from students of other racial groups but also from other African tribes. Communication is broken, and the language of wider communication - English - tends to fall into disuse outside the lecture rooms. For the Coloured people there is a separate university college at Belville, near Cape Town, working mainly in the Afrikaans medium, to the disadvantage of Natal Coloured students who have to travel a thousand miles to their 'group' college, whose Rector was one of the sponsors of the 1948 Christian-National policy statement. Indian students attend the separate university college for Indians at Durban.

355. Generally speaking, the staffs of the 'open' universities, and of Fort Hare, tended, without being politically-minded, to be mildly 'liberal' in outlook, as the term is usually understood in Western countries. Exemplary dismissals at Fort Hare

at the time of the change in status, reinforced by Ministerial pronouncements, made it clear that university teachers who might be critical of apartheid would not be welcome at the tribal colleges.

356. Before passing from African education, it may be noted that the major Afrikaans academic organisation, the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, has now undertaken an investigation into the present position of Afrikaans, with special reference to the non-White population. In an interview with a Nationalist newspaper ¹³⁵, the Director of the Akademie stated that although 'on paper' Afrikaans had made tremendous progress, in practice it was neglected. The attitude of a great part of the population, especially the non-Whites, left much to be desired. Continuing, the Director said:

linguistic scholars in the Akademie were convinced that in order to ensure the continued existence of Afrikaans, a break-through to the non-White must be made. The Bantu in particular were regarded as one of the most important potential areas of expansion (voedingsbodems) of Afrikaans ¹³⁶

135. Dagbreek en Sondagnuus, 19 December 1965. Article entitled: Die Nie-blanke moet Afrikaans 'help' (The non-White must 'help' Afrikaans).

136. Indentation and italics of Dagbreek.

For this reason, the survey was being begun with an investigation of the position of Afrikaans among the Bantu. The use of Afrikaans in schools, universities and colleges, by regional authorities and the police, among urban Bantu, by local government committees, in industry, commerce and mining, on the railways, in libraries, beer halls and recreation and sports clubs, on Radio Bantu etc. would be investigated. The Akademie would be helped by a panel consisting of about 700 White teachers. The South African Broadcasting Corporation would also co-operate.

357. Coloured Education was taken over from the Provinces by the Department of Coloured Affairs in 1964. Education had been compulsory for Coloured children in Natal from 1942. It was comparatively backward in the Cape Province, as is made clear by the wastage throughout the school reflected in the figures given by the Minister of Coloured Affairs in Parliament 137:

137. Hansard (1966), cols. 451-454.

Enrolments in Coloured
Schools in the Cape Province

Standard	Number third quarter 1964	Number third quarter 1965
Sub. A	73,316	74,154
Sub. B	58,007	60,855
Std. I	50,508	51,270
Std. II	40,178	41,819
Std. III	33,473	33,737
Std. IV	25,913	26,253
Std. V	18,721	19,058
Std. VI	13,266	13,378
Std. VII	7,378	7,530
Std. VIII	4,550	4,676
Std. IX	1,528	1,560
Std. X	1,094	1,181

358. It is too early to indicate how Coloured education is likely to develop under central control. If it is to develop in even fashion, the Coloured pupils of Natal schools may have to wait some time before resuming their upward progress.

359. Attention may be drawn, however, to a valuable article in the Cape Times of 29 January, 1965, by the eminent Coloured educationist, Dr. R.E. van der Ross. In this article Dr. van der Ross gives detailed factual evidence of the systematic Afrikanerisation - at primary, secondary and university levels - of the education of the formerly highly bilingual Coloured community of the Cape Peninsula. It may

reasonably be assumed that these one-way official pressures on the Coloured people will continue.

360. As from 1 April, 1966, the central government's Department of Indian Affairs took over control of Indian Education from the provinces - essentially from Natal where most South African Indians live. As Natal Indians may not freely move out of Natal to the other provinces, the transfer of their education from provincial to central control would seem particularly difficult to justify on educational grounds. Their educational progress since the Second World War has been steady and rapid, as is indicated by the following figures showing a) total growth, b) growth in Standards VII-X, and c) percentage of total in Standards VII-X (i.e. in 9th to 12th school years):

Growth of Indian Education: Natal

Year	Total Enrolment	Enrolment in Stds VII-X	Percentage of Total in Stds VII-X
1945	34,031	876	2.6
1954	68,968	3,066	4.4
1963	121,386	11,124	9.2
1965	129,614	16,172	12.5

361. The Indian community, having learnt in Natal to co-operate effectively in spite of residual caste and communal differences within its own ranks, is not likely to take uncritically any attempts to educate it to accept a new isolationism coupled with second-class citizenship. The list of officials appointed by Indian Affairs suggests, however, that in Indian education also the 'senior White trustee' has taken over. But evidence is not lacking of some realisation of the fact that policies will have success only in the measure in which they visibly continue the rapid educational advancement of the Indian people and give this advancement new meaning by the extension of vocational opportunity.

CONCLUSION

362. We set out to study 'the orientation of the educational system, so far as primary and secondary schools for Whites are concerned, to the bilingual and bicultural structure of White South African Society.' The highlighting of the bicultural aspect should not lead us to mistake it for the total picture. The discerning reader will hardly need to be reminded that the bicultural situation, pervasive as it is, has not been the only factor of importance in the evolution of South Africa's education system. South Africa's schools for Whites have had to adjust themselves to the demands of a rapidly expanding national economy, and in major respects the adjustments follow patterns observable in most countries which have passed from predominantly agricultural to predominantly industrial production. As will have been clear from previous sections, the duration of school life has been so extended that all White children now have about ten years of schooling under compulsory attendance laws and about forty per cent complete twelve years of schooling. Special education for the backward and the handicapped is widely provided. The system has been democratised by the abolition of school fees, by the provision of free books and by the free or subsidised hostelisation of children who live out of daily reach of schools; further, by the diversification of courses for the

full-range secondary population; and, in general, by equality of opportunity at all levels for all White children in so far as this can be provided by public organisation. There is also, in South African White schools generally, and in English-medium schools in particular, the increased emphasis on mathematics and the physical sciences so characteristic of the schools of Western Europe and America in recent decades.

363. Two other points are made in passing. Biculturalism in primary and secondary schools is only comprehensible as part of the general bicultural situation. As far as the general situation is concerned, much has had to be left to the reader; even such a traumatic experience as the Anglo-Boer War is mentioned in only a few sentences; and other events which have appreciably influenced the bicultural situation have not been mentioned at all. There is also the danger of leaving the impression that biculturalism in South Africa affects only the schools of the two White groups. That danger, it is hoped, has been avoided by the inclusion of the section on non-White education.

364. From the figures set out in the Introductory Section, the fact is clear that South Africa is a multiracial, multicultural and multilingual country; and such, for all foreseeable time, it will remain. The problem of self-government in such a country presents special difficulties: the diversity

of our peoples provides a standing temptation to every political charlatan, White or non-White, to exploit sectional prejudices, frictions and power drives.

365. The immediate blame for the current separatist policies lies fairly and squarely on those who have devised them and who now enforce them so systematically for their sectional ends. The ultimate blame, as will have been obvious from earlier pages, is more widely shared. Others have also had the illusion of their 'special mission' to control the destinies of their neighbours as well as their own. Memories still live of the arrogant Anglo-Saxonism of Milner and of many far lesser men (which in the end contributed to the undermining of all that was valuable in the imperial contribution). But disputes and tensions had been endemic in South Africa for nearly a century before Milner. Our failures in inter-group relations had rarely been matters of all the right on the one side and all the wrong on the other(s). More often they have been the failures of people who acted inadequately in difficult situations because they saw the problems of South Africa primarily in terms of the material interests and political aspirations of their own section of the population.

366. A basic objective of our educational policies should be to increase inter-group understanding and co-operation

(remembering that one learns to co-operate by co-operating), to emphasise common humanity and common interests, and to nourish common loyalties. Instead, we throw each group back on itself and break down existing channels of communication¹³⁸. We are, in the words of Professor J.A. Lauwerys, 'the one country in the world which uses its schools to divide its people'.

367. Power drives are sometimes 'justified' within the group by the suggestion that the group's continued existence depends on its retaining all essential power firmly and indefinitely in its grasp. As every linguistic group in South Africa is a minority group, none can afford to base its future on so hazardous a condition. For, given normally harmonious development, no considerable language group in South Africa has any need to fear for the future of its language.

368. Natal's Administrator has recently spoken of the fears of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking people for the

138. The latest break-up of organs of inter-group co-operation has just been announced. The Department of Social Welfare has 'suggested' that charitable organisations should reconstitute themselves on a racial basis, so that 'White' welfare bodies cater only for Whites, 'Coloured' charities only for Coloured, and so on throughout the ethnic scale (Rand Daily Mail, 21 April 1966). And so contacts between White and non-White are systematically restricted to the master-servant relationship, or to the public service and police.

continued existence of their respective languages as official languages in South Africa ¹³⁹. The English-speaking, he said, feared for English because they were only 35 per cent of the European population. The Afrikaans feared for Afrikaans 'if their party ever loses favour, or because more non-Europeans are speaking English, or because of its slow progress in the commercial world'. But surely the future of Afrikaans, like the future of Danish or Norwegian or any other well-founded language of similar currency, is perfectly secure as long as its own speakers want to go on using it. As long as that desire exists, Afrikaans stands on an impregnable foundation. A greater danger to Afrikaans than those indicated by Mr. Gerdener would seem to be its association with repressive policies. Die taal van die veroweraar in die mond van die verowerde is die taal van slawe ¹⁴⁰ is a favourite quotation in Christian-National circles. The thought has wider application than it is usually given. The extent to which Africans will learn Afrikaans voluntarily would seem to depend very largely on the implementation of the apartheid policy. If it is so implemented that most

139. At opening of an exhibition of designs for a Language Monument. Natal Witness, April 1966.

140. 'The language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is the language of slaves.'

Africans are extruded from 'White' South Africa, little Afrikaans will be needed. If it is fully implemented - to the extent of the establishment of separate African nations in their own territories - even less will be needed. The idea of the African population as an 'area of expansion' of Afrikaans, or of Africans becoming 'our cultural servants as they are our farm servants' also has its risks. If South Africa should ever reach the een-taal: Afrikaans stage, i.e. if Afrikaans were ever to become a language spoken mainly by Africans, it could be a new Afrikaans, as different from that of today as the Afrikaans of today is different from the language of the Netherlands. However, not all speakers of Afrikaans - in the Cape perhaps comparatively few - would approve of this aspect of the cultural colonialism of the Broederbond establishment and in this matter the future may perhaps be left to look after itself.

369. Given the same conditions of peaceful development, the English-speaking also have little need to fear the imminent disappearance, or official demotion, of their language. The viability of English is not solely dependent on the 35 per cent of Whites who speak it as their home language. It has a much wider value as supplementary language in the education and in the cultural life of all groups. In the words of H.G. Wells: 'The inducements to an Englishman, Frenchman or

German to become bilingual are great enough nowadays, but the inducements to a speaker of one of the smaller languages are rapidly approaching compulsion. He must do it in self-defence. To become an educated man in his own vernacular has become an impossibility.¹⁴¹ Professor P. du P. Grobler, pointing out the dangers of too strait-laced a censorship of Afrikaans books, has written as follows: 'Let us just for the moment consider the following: the intelligent Englishman, German, Frenchman can become a highly civilised and cultured person without ever reading a word outside his own language. The Afrikaner whose mind is not receptive to a larger world and to a more intense experience of reality than he has, as yet, been able to find in Afrikaans, cannot and will not have an intellectual life of the same quality. And that is more tragic than most of us are prepared to realise.'¹⁴² Some major supplementary language there must be. English is as obviously the best supplementary language for Southern Africa as French is for Northern.

141. Quoted in E.G. Malherbe, Problems of School Medium in a Bilingual Country. In Education, S.A.T.A., Capetown, August 1962.

142. Wat van ons Letterkunde? S.A.U.K., Johannesburg, 1957, p. 42. Translated.

370. This is not to say that the English-speaking can afford to be complacent about the future of English, or about their own contribution to its continued vigorous existence in South Africa. Inheriting a multi-national language, they would seem to have a patriotic obligation to assist in making its great resources as widely available as possible in the service of all their fellow citizens. In this, as a community, they have not been notably vigorous.

371. The quality of the English used in public life in South Africa is deteriorating, and is being allowed to deteriorate. Dr. E.G. Malherbe has drawn attention to the 'interesting fact that immediately after the Anglo-Boer War there existed far less hostility to the English language and to fellow English-speaking South Africans than was generated years afterwards between the two World Wars when the campaign for single-medium schools got under way.' There are fortunately many Afrikaners who realise that falling standards in English are injurious to our educational standards generally. An admonition in Die Unie¹⁴³ makes the point, and at the same time illustrates the need for more English-speaking teachers. It reads: 'All pupils and teachers (especially principals of schools) must realise that English is a world language and an official language; it must never be taught

143. Issue of 1 August 1965.

as a foreign language, and every principal should so choose speakers that his pupils may sometimes hear English-speaking South Africans speaking English'. Such an appeal would seem to demand action both from the responsible education authorities and from English-speaking South Africans in their private capacity as citizens.

372. Whatever the future of one or two of the minor African languages ¹⁴⁴, Xhosa, Zulu and the other languages spoken by considerable numbers of Africans on both sides of the South African border are a permanent part of South African life and the role of these languages will increase as their speakers progress educationally and economically. The adaptation of the African languages to the multifarious needs of modern industrialised economies may take more time than was the case with Afrikaans. They lack the economic resources of Afrikaans, both private, and those arising out of its position as one of the official languages of the South African state. They lack the invaluable asset enjoyed by Afrikaans because of its

144. Birth into a very small and backward linguistic community can be a severe handicap. Education rooted in the language and traditions of a tribe of a couple of hundred thousand near-landless 'peasantry', dependent for their livelihood on unskilled work as migratory labourers, can be education for a world which is dead and which can never be revived because its economic base is gone.

relationship with Dutch, the language of a technologically highly advanced people. Zulu and Xhosa have no such advanced sister-tongue to borrow from. The task of adapting these languages to the needs of modern scientific exposition will be made in due course. In due course also books and technical journals will appear. But they cannot appear until there are sustaining bodies of readers for each type of publication. The difficulties will be overcome, but they should not be underestimated.

373. In the meantime, it is urgently necessary that the education of the people should move forward rapidly. This implies the use of a supplementary language. The choice of the supplementary language should be made by the people themselves, and it should be exercised in complete freedom from official or other pressures. Only one supplementary language should be used as medium in any class. This language should be taught as a language from about the stage when a second language is introduced in White schools. It should be gradually introduced as medium in the course of the upper primary school. The second official language should be introduced later than the first. If introduced at the beginning of the upper primary course (the fifth school year) it would gain from the fact of better qualifications of teachers from the fifth school year upwards.

374. Good group relations in South Africa demand more self-restraint and more imaginative insight into the feelings of out-groups than most South African governments have shown. We are still at the comparatively primitive stage of democratic government when we act on the assumption that in matters of importance the parliamentary majority has all the rights and the minority has none ¹⁴⁵. Indeed, in this respect we have fallen back in recent years. On such a basic inter-group issue as the change to a Republic

145. Justifying the impotent political position of the Coloured and Indian groups in South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd said in Parliament last year:

'Even where minority groups have the vote, the position is that their chances of getting into power are very slight, unless they hold the balance of power between ~~two~~ equally strong parties representing two majority groups and the result is that they are powerless...

'If the minority group becomes the tail that wags the dog because it happens to hold the balance of power between two equally strong parties, a colossal injustice is done towards the majority of the people because then it means that the minority rules the majority.

'But unless that happens, that minority has nothing; it can achieve nothing and such a minority, although it seemingly has a share in the control and although it seemingly has rights, has no real control over anything that it can put to its own productive use...'

Rather than give them such unreal rights, the argument went on, we generously gave them 'limited powers and opportunities' outside Parliament.

And incidentally protected our 'majority' from 'the tail that wags the dog'! S.A. Digest, April 30, 1965.

there were long-standing guarantees that the change would have to be approved by 'the broad will of the people', to which phrase there was sometimes added the reassuring 'English-speaking as well as Afrikaans-speaking'. In the event, it was announced that in the Referendum a majority of one would suffice. To facilitate further the triumph of the party line, all Coloured electors were specifically excluded from the Referendum and the predominantly Nationalist Whites of the mandatory territory of South-West Africa were brought in. Only twice since Union have we had government which tried to govern in terms of the general consensus of English and Afrikaner wishes for the development of the country: the first Botha-Smuts government from 1910, and the Hertzog-Smuts government in the 'thirties. Both, unfortunately, ended when World Wars brought division. Government in terms of a wider consensus than that of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking Whites is our greatest need.

375. It is difficult to adduce arguments to convince a group majority firmly in the saddle that it has a duty to exercise restraint in legislation deeply affecting other groups of the population; and that in such measures it should go forward only with a broad measure of inter-group agreement. Autocratic government is none the less oppressive for being exercised by a parliamentary majority than by a hereditary monarch or a dictator. Nowadays, no government of a

Deletion suggested by author. →

civilised, predominantly Protestant country would legislate to deny Catholics the right to worship according to their rites, and vice versa. This civilised restraint is not shown in South Africa in respect of matters affecting the moral and material well-being of groups of our people, and of our country as a whole, much more deeply than the Protestant-Catholic division is seen to do in our ecumenical times. Yet in these matters a power group will use a parliamentary majority with ruthless disregard for any wishes but its own. Such a majority should consider, in its own long-term interests, the advantages of self-restraint in the exercise of power, and the value of the ideal of government by consensus in a country with the population structure of South Africa. ~~The principle embodied in the plan for Senate elections in the policies of the Progressive Party merit consideration in this respect.~~ There must be few South Africans who do not concede at least the possibility that one, perhaps distant, day the South African electorate will be more representative of the total population than it is today. With that thought in mind, minorities at present exercising majority privileges might consider the desirability of establishing better precedents than heretofore for their successors to follow.

376. What can the education system do to improve group relations? Obviously, a largely state-maintained system of

schools will tend to reflect state policies, whether these be group-centred or more widely based. But in the matter of English-Afrikaner relations there are wide areas of agreement, some of these valuable in the wider South African context and some of them less so. A school increases or decreases these areas of agreement by its general cultural standard and by the attitudes which it transmits to its pupils, mainly, perhaps, by infection. The key subjects in respect of group relations are the languages and history.

377. Most of what there is to say about the place of the languages in our schools has been said, expressly or by implication, in the preceding pages. The desirability of widespread bilingualism in a country with a population as interspersed as South Africa's cannot be in doubt, and South Africans should test their citizenship in terms of some such scale as Dr. Malherbe's Six Stages of Bilingualism. But here too one must be reasonable. The Durban suburbanite and the Free State farmer, despite diligent study in their school days, are unlikely to be able to speak their second languages freely unless they have lived or worked for some time in environments where they have made regular use of them. But the schools can lay the basis for bilingualism. And they can teach, by example and precept, respect for both languages and pride in the skilled use of both languages as an expression

of good citizenship. Dual-medium instruction can be a help, where circumstances are favourable, but nothing is more easily sabotaged. What is needed more than organisational directives is steady persistence at school level in the cultivation of good relations. Judicious support should be given to such work as that of the Abe Bailey Trust.

378. Our history teaching is too group-centred, too impregnated with the ideas of 'nourishing love of one's own group' and of group self-justification. In this context 'group' connotes the White group as a whole as well as the English and Afrikaner groups separately. And no doubt the history teaching in many non-White schools has discreet implications hardly intended by the White syllabus-makers. The problem is on three levels: the syllabuses, the text-books and the teachers. Syllabuses seldom err by offensive wording ¹⁴⁶. More usually they err by overemphasis on selected topics. Generally, they direct too much time and effort to South African history as seen from the White frontier angle, and too little to the history of civilisation generally, not only in Europe which has been

146. Sometimes they do so err. Some years ago in Natal we were invited by the Indian Teachers' Society to remove the topic 'The Indian Problem' from one of our syllabuses. The Indians, it was suggested, did not usually speak of 'the White Problem'. We made the change.

the pacemaker in recent centuries but in the world as a whole. It is a pity that uniform-~~core~~ ~~national~~ syllabuses are now to replace the separate syllabuses of the provinces at all levels. The measure of diversity permissible under the old system was valuable and facilitated experiment and adjustment. The arguments for the change put forward politically are authoritarian and that put forward officially¹⁴⁷ is unconvincing. The teacher is the most vital link in the chain of prejudice transmission, and the one most difficult to reach effectively in any scheme for reform.

379. The suggestion has been made that there should be a joint committee of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking White historians, on the lines of the well-known arrangement between the Scandinavian countries, to examine text-books, disagreements about matters of historical fact and such matters, accompanied by the exclusion of offending textbooks from schools. The idea has some merit, but not enough to

147. The difficulties of children moving from province to province. But according to The Mentor (April 1966), there were 112,000 pupils in Stds. II to V in Transvaal schools in 1961. Of the 29,000 who were transferred in the year from one school to another, 2,764 came from other provinces and 1,070 from other countries; the remainder represented movements from one Transvaal school to another. 2,764 out of 112,000 would gain by the proposed uniformity. A small tail, The Mentor suggests, to wag such a large dog.

mark a really considerable step forward. A committee more broadly based is necessary, not only to improve the presentation of the historical relations of Whites and the various non-White groups, but even to secure something like proper appreciation of the vast contribution of such a White group as the Christian missionaries. Any suggestion can only be tentative; and purely as such a tentative suggestion the following initial membership is put forward:

A chairman appointed by the Minister of Education, Arts and Science.

Two members appointed by the S.A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.

Two members appointed by the English Academy of S. Africa.

One member appointed by the Prime Minister of the Transkei in agreement with the Leader of the Opposition in the Transkeian Assembly.

One member appointed by the Natal Indian Teachers' Society.

One member appointed by the coloured teachers' society with the largest graduate membership.

The difficulties in the way of setting up this, or any such representative committee, are a measure of the difficulties in the way of the radical reformation of our schools as growth points for the ideal of a harmoniously developing and united South Africa.

Appendix

AN EXPERIMENT IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION*

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Department of Education, Natal

SUMMARY

77 per cent of the pupils in the Government European Schools of Natal are registered in English medium classes and 23 per cent in Afrikaans medium. The former learn Afrikaans as a second language, the latter English.

In 1942 the Natal Provincial Council, in order to encourage bilingualism, ordained that, in addition to the ordinary language lessons, each pupil should be taught daily some other portion of the curriculum through the medium of his second language.

In 1949 the writer was instructed to enquire into the time allocated to second language instruction in the schools and into the measure of success which had attended the giving of lessons on other subjects through the medium of the pupil's second language.

The enquiry revealed that it had not been possible to make full provision in every school for the second medium instruction. There had, however, been significant improvement in the Afrikaans of English medium pupils and in the English of Afrikaans-medium pupils over the past ten years, and some of this improvement could probably be credited to the lessons through the medium of the second language.

Further, achievement in the main language was found to vary very little with divergent language relationships in school and community, but achievement in the second language appeared to be strongly affected by the influence--quite informally exerted--of the language(s) of the school and community.

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INTRODUCTORY

In terms of the South Africa Act (1909) as amended, both the English and the Afrikaans languages are official languages of the Union of South Africa and are "treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges".

It is the policy of the Government Schools of the Province of Natal, as of the other provinces, to encourage the children to become bilingual.

European school children attending Government Schools in Natal may be educated through the medium of English or through the medium of Afrikaans. The choice of medium is vested in the parent. Approximately 77 per cent of the children are registered in English medium classes and 23 per cent in Afrikaans medium classes. (In the other three provinces the majority of the children are in Afrikaans medium classes.)

Children in English medium classes are taught Afrikaans as a language and children in Afrikaans medium classes are taught English as a language.

In 1942 the Natal Provincial Council passed an Education Ordinance (Ordinance No. 23, 1942), consolidating previous legislation on education, and in this Ordinance made new provision, inter alia, for the teaching of the Official Languages.

Section 12 of this Ordinance provided:

"12. (1) In every Government European and Coloured School every pupil above sub-standard two shall be taught both official languages; provided that in Government European schools the time to be devoted to that language which has not been selected as the medium of instruction, shall be not less than two and a half hours or more than four hours per week.

(2) In addition every pupil above standard one in Government European schools shall be taught some other portion of the curriculum for not less than one-half hour or more than one hour per day, through the medium of that language which has not been selected as the medium of instruction; provided that the provisions of this sub-section shall apply only to standard two in the year 1943 but thereafter to an additional standard in numerical order, each year, until it has become applicable to the highest standard of the secondary school."

Instruction in the "second language" (i.e. the official language not selected as the medium of instruction) had for many years previously been given more or less as again provided for in section 12 (1). The new provision was contained in section 12 (2).

In February, 1949, I was instructed, as Chief Inspector of Schools for the Province, to enquire into the amount of time allocated to instruction in, or through the medium of, the second official language in the Government European Schools of Natal, and into the measure of success which had attended the application of section 12 (2) of the Ordinance. In the enquiry I had the co-operation of my colleagues on the Inspectorate.

The following pages report the result of the enquiry.

TEACHING OF THE SECOND LANGUAGE AS A LANGUAGE

It was found that the arrangements at practically every school visited complied with section 12 (1) of the Ordinance. In a very small number of schools an occasional class was found receiving language instruction for a few minutes below the minimum or above the maximum time laid down, but only in one school was the time allocation substantially below the requirement. This was a small school organised on a dual medium basis and the decreased time for second language instruction was compensated for by the very ample opportunities to use the language in the general business of the school. Usually the time allocated to the teaching of the second language in terms of section 12 (1) was found to be from 150 to 200 minutes in Standards I to IV, and very close to 240 minutes in Standards V to VI.

TEACHING THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE SECOND LANGUAGE

Section 12 (2) of the Ordinance had not, it was found, been applied as fully as section 12 (1).

There is a small number of schools, officially classified as parallel medium schools, at which certain classes are actually conducted as dual medium classes, i.e. instead of English medium and Afrikaans medium pupils pursuing their studies in separate classrooms (though in the same school), they are grouped together in one classroom for a considerable part of the day and instructed as one group, now in the one language, now in the other. This organisation was found in certain secondary classes at Newcastle, Glencoe, Greytown and Empangeni, and in a few primary schools. Children in such classes received substantially more instruction through the medium of the second language than the maximum (5 hours weekly) laid down in the Ordinance.

At all other schools, that is at all single medium schools and all schools with parallel medium organisation, few teachers had attempted to give more than the minimum time laid down in the Ordinance ($2\frac{1}{2}$ hours weekly) to work through the medium of the second language, and many, particularly in the secondary classes, had given much less.

Provision in High Schools

Of 28 schools with secondary classes, five were essentially dual medium. Of the other 23, it was found, one gave 2 hours 45 minutes to work through the second language medium, two gave 2 hours 40 minutes, seven gave the prescribed minimum time of 2 hours 30 minutes and 13 gave less than the minimum time laid down (six of these less than half the minimum time).

Provision in Primary Schools

In the primary schools, section 12 (2) had been, as a rule, more generally applied than in the secondary schools, but even in the primary schools enforcement had been far from complete. Most principals had seen to it that timetables provided for the minimum requirement of the Ordinance, though some schools had made less than the required minimum provision and a few schools had made little or no provision. It was noted, however, that even where timetable provision was adequate, actual time given was sometimes less. A Midlands Inspector, for example, found that of 39 lessons through the second medium due to be given on the day of his visits, only 28 were in fact given, and the reasons adduced for the failure to give others were in most cases very slight.

A very small number of principals, both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking, had not seriously attempted to give effect to section 12 (2) in their schools although they had on their staffs teachers qualified to give the instruction required. It was usually apparent that these principals did not regard the sub-section sympathetically.

Inspectors were satisfied, however, that most principals had made every reasonable effort to organise the second medium instruction as required. Full enforcement of the section had not been practicable. In some cases the presence of unilingual teachers had made it impossible to provide the full time allocation, in other cases the presence of teachers of marginal linguistic ability had made it inadvisable; and there were other limiting factors which are referred to later in this report.

Generally, it was found, full teaching periods were set aside for second medium instruction. Many principals at one stage had favoured giving ten minutes to revision in the second language at the end of lessons given in the first. It had been found in practice, however, that something frequently cropped up in the course of a lesson which made it impossible to give the ten minutes to revision as planned; and so, because of the difficulty of assessing accurately how much second medium work was actually done in such snippets, most principals came to favour the full-period system.

Subjects Preferred for Second Medium Work

Teachers experimented with second medium lessons in practically every subject of the curriculum and, after gaining experience, tended to concentrate on subjects which lend themselves to non-technical exposition and discussion like Nature Study and Scripture, or like Hygiene, Geography and History up to about Standard IV, or to subjects like Art, Music and Physical Education in which the speaking rôle of the pupil is comparatively small. History, Geography and Hygiene proved less popular in Standards V and VI, partly because the introduction of a more specialised vocabulary in these standards made work through the second medium more difficult, and partly because, as public examinations came closer, teachers and pupils were loath to give "subject" time to the acquisition of a technical vocabulary in a language other than the language of the impending examination. "General Knowledge" became a favourite subject for the second medium lessons in the upper standards of many primary schools. It was not an examination subject; the children were not oppressed by any obligation, with examination sanctions, to retain the knowledge imparted, and they were content to give their attention to the linguistic aspect of the lesson. Whether such lessons constituted the teaching of "some other portion of the curriculum" as envisaged by the Ordinance is a moot point. In some cases at least they were hardly to be distinguished from the lessons in oral composition given as part of their normal work under section 12 (1) by the language teachers.

Need for Translation

From all districts inspectors reported that teachers found it necessary, when giving lessons through the second medium, to use the first language in order to explain points not grasped when presented in the second language. It was particularly in Standards II to IV that it was thus necessary to fall back upon the first language (usually the child's home language). The reason given was the obvious one: children in these standards have small vocabularies in the second language and little experience in using it. From Standard V upwards teachers found less translation necessary except when the lesson demanded the use of many technical terms. Some translation into the first language continued to be necessary in the higher English medium classes, but in Standards VI to VIII, Afrikaans medium schools, such translation was seldom necessary; it usually sufficed to repeat the explanation in the second language using simpler words.

Second Medium Less Efficient

In Primary Classes

There was very general agreement among teachers that the second language was, in Natal schools, a less efficient medium than the first language. The consensus of teacher opinion was that in Standards II and III it took about twice as long to convey a given amount of subject-matter through

the second language. Teachers pointed out that in these standards the lesson through the second medium often developed in practice into a language lesson pure and simple. It might be a good language lesson, but the subject-matter had to be dealt with later through the first language. As the pupils proceeded to the upper standards, and their ability in the second language increased, the second language gradually became a more practicable instrument.

In Secondary Classes

In the secondary classes in a few schools with dual medium organisation the second language was found to be almost as efficient a medium as the first language, and most of the pupils had attained practical bilinguality.

This stage was not reached, however, in the typical single medium or parallel medium school, where secondary teachers and classes continued to be aware of working under a handicap, particularly in the case of examination subjects. Typical comments by teachers in such schools were: "My Geography lessons degenerate into the giving of vocabulary lists." "The second medium lessons introduce an atmosphere of artificiality into the Arithmetic lessons and slow up the work appreciably." "I feel that such progress as is made in my subject is due to the fact that everything is explained through the medium of English as well." "Abstract concepts

such as latitude and longitude, the theories to explain weather, and the intricacies of time-problems are difficult enough to grasp when explained in the pupil's first language, and the use of the second language leads to much confusion." "I spend the whole of my Thursday evenings translating my second medium lesson for Friday mornings." "The boys have learnt a few technical terms in their second language, but their progress in my subject has been slowed up." "We took the bull by the horns and gave Standard VII all their Arithmetic lessons through the medium of Afrikaans last year, but the result is that we are having to give them extra time in this subject through the medium of English in Standard VIII this year." "At a school like ours teaching through the second medium wastes a lot of time."

Suitability of Staff.

Principals and Vice-Principals who have long experience of work in our few schools with dual medium organisation insist that teachers in such schools must be thoroughly bilingual--able to speak both languages fluently, vigorously and correctly, and able to switch easily from one language to the other. Any lesser linguistic equipment in the teacher puts the pupils at a serious disadvantage.

It is also vital that teachers entrusted with second medium work in single or parallel medium schools should be able to use their medium effectively. It is pleasing to be able to report that the majority of the teachers giving second medium lessons in our Natal schools were found to be linguistically competent in this sense, and inspectors paid a warm tribute to the skill and enthusiasm which many of them had shown in presenting their second medium lessons. Unfortunately there were not enough such teachers to make it possible to enforce section 12 (2) of the Ordinance in all schools. A considerable number of the teachers giving second medium lessons, perhaps a third of the total in some districts, were, in the opinion of the inspectors, not linguistically competent. In four large English medium schools in Durban, under the supervision of the same inspector, thirteen of the twenty-two teachers actually taking second medium work were found to be inadequately equipped linguistically. Some principals, wishing to enforce the Ordinance as fully as possible, and lacking the necessary number of qualified teachers, had allocated second medium work to teachers poorly qualified in the language concerned. Sometimes this had been at the request of the teachers, who were anxious to have practice in their second language. Recent immigrants were found taking second medium lessons in this way. Laudable as the ambition to improve their knowledge of their second language was, such teachers were obviously not fitted to do justice to the work. Other

teachers who had forgotten much of their second language were found giving second medium lessons in it without enthusiasm. It is obvious that during such lessons the pupils could learn little of value either of the subject or of the medium.

Effect on First Language

Teachers agreed practically unanimously that the second medium lessons had no direct adverse affect on the ability of pupils to use their first language. Some first language specialists in secondary schools did, however, complain of increasingly frequent Afrikanderisms, or Anglicisms, and of indirect adverse influence. Formerly, they maintained, every teacher, by insisting on clear expression and correct language in his own subject, whether it was History, Geography or Science, was in fact assisting the first language teacher to build up first language ability. Since the introduction of section 12 (2), they maintained, the other teachers had their minds so fixed on their responsibility for second medium instruction in their subjects that they had become less critical of slovenly expression in the first language. I quote one main language specialist: "All the other teachers used to be my allies. Now they have deserted me to become the allies of the second language teachers."

It was probably not quite as bad as that.

Achievement in the Second Language

The consensus of opinion among teachers was that there had been an appreciable improvement in the standard of achievement in the second language in our schools since before the war. Not all teachers shared this opinion. Secondary teachers who acknowledged improved second language achievement in the pupils coming to them from the primary schools were few and far between; but they did exist. Most primary second language specialists believed that there had been a definite improvement, and principals qualified to judge were, on the whole, of the same belief. No teacher was found who thought that the standard had deteriorated. Some difference of opinion was, of course, to be expected. The quality of second language instruction, as of instruction in other subjects, must vary from school to school and from classroom to classroom. Primary teachers who had observed improvement in second language achievement considered that the present senior pupils in their schools, while far from being bilingual, were more fluent in their second language than pre-war pupils, had wider vocabularies, and showed greater readiness to use the language spontaneously.

I return to a comparison of pre-war and current vocabulary achievement in later paragraphs.

Contribution of Section 12 (2)

There was wide disagreement among teachers as to the part played by the second medium lessons in bringing about any improved achievement in the second language. As might be expected, the more consistently and effectively a school has been able to provide second-medium instruction, the more credit that school was usually prepared to give to the second-medium lessons as a cause of progress. In most schools, however, teachers considered that improvement had been due, in the main, to other causes. Parents had a better appreciation of the importance of the second language than their pre-war predecessors had had. The present English-medium pupils were, increasingly, the children of parents who themselves had learnt Afrikaans at school. The techniques of language-teaching showed development. Few teachers were prepared to ascribe improvement to one factor exclusively.

Attitude towards Learning the Second Language.

The Afrikaans-speaking pupils in Natal schools have been, traditionally, more bilingual than the English-speaking majority, and they still maintain this lead over by far the greater part of the province. Afrikaans specialist teachers of long experience were, however, unanimous in recording a great improvement in the attitude of English-speaking pupils towards the learning of Afrikaans. This attitude found expression in the friendly, co-operative classroom atmosphere,

in the readiness of pupils to attempt replies in Afrikaans, to address Afrikaans-speaking teachers off duty in Afrikaans, and in numerous other ways. Some teachers gave much credit for this improvement in attitude to the second medium lessons, which had accustomed English-speaking pupils to the use of Afrikaans outside the language lesson. Other teachers offered different explanations. Reference has already been made to the fact that the parents now have more understanding of the task of the Afrikaans teacher, and sympathy with that task, than was formerly the case. The atmosphere of the schools is also more wholeheartedly co-operative. Many of the large English medium schools hold morning assembly and prayers in Afrikaans on one day each week, and take special pains with the teaching of the Afrikaans hymns so that the service may not lose in dignity or impressiveness through the use of the less familiar language. Rarer attempts to follow up the Afrikaans assembly by an "Afrikaans Day", during which the pupils would speak only Afrikaans to each other on the playground, have not been successful and, indeed, are not considered to be generally advisable. I mention them as illustrating how concerned many English-speaking principals are to accustom their pupils to the use of Afrikaans outside the language lesson. There is also much incidental acclimatization to the second language, whether Afrikaans or English, on the playing-fields. Second language teachers who coach teams often use their own language during the games, and the pupils get the habit of addressing them in it. Appreciation of language grows with respect for its bearer.

Pupils and the Second Medium Lessons

While the attitude of pupils to the ordinary language lessons is generally very pleasing, their attitude to lessons through the second medium is more negative. No principal or assistant teacher was found in the course of the enquiry who was prepared to state that his pupils positively liked such lessons. In most primary schools where second medium lessons were efficiently given they were accepted without antagonism but without enthusiasm. Pupils who were weak in the second language would at times say "Oh! Miss!" or "Ag Juffrou!" when the teacher switched from the first language to the second, but they would then settle down to make the best of it. In primary classes where linguistically ill-equipped teachers had to be employed, it is to be feared that pupils, and teachers, often had the impression of time wasted. In such classes some emotional resistance could easily develop and persist, though it might not find open expression.

Dislike of second medium lessons was found to be more explicit in secondary classes. Secondary pupils are always aware of the Junior Certificate or Matriculation examination ahead of them, and are impatient of apparent impediments to their progress through the syllabus. Their feelings in the matter are not undeserving of sympathy--it is good that pupils should have clearly defined goals and should strive to attain them expeditiously. It appeared, however, that

the typical Standard VII or Standard VIII pupil in Natal, English-speaking or Afrikaans-speaking, was not bilingual enough to learn History or Geography or Mathematics or Science through his second language without some loss of time or of subject-matter; and so, whilst he would accept an occasional second medium lesson as possibly a good thing because of the benefit it might hold in language, he was conscious of loss of subject progress if many lessons were given through the second medium, and he did not like it. Such tentative protests as pupils made were nearly always made by English-speaking pupils to English-speaking teachers, or by Afrikaans-speaking pupils to Afrikaans-speaking teachers. Two explanations for this suggest themselves: firstly, "A" language pupils would naturally wish to avoid saying anything to a "B" language teacher which might be misinterpreted as disparagement of the "B" language; and secondly, it is when an "A" language History or Geography teacher, teaching an "A" language class, switches to the "B" language which he speaks with some diffidence, that the proceedings seem most artificial.

There was probably, it seemed, more dislike of second medium lessons than had found open expression.

DUAL MEDIUM INSTRUCTION

Reference has been made in a previous paragraph to dual medium schools as distinct from parallel medium schools, dual medium schools being schools where English medium and Afrikaans medium pupils, instead of pursuing their studies in separate classrooms (though in the same school), are grouped together in one classroom for a considerable part of the day and instructed as one group, now in one language, and now in the other. This organisation was found at the secondary schools mentioned, and at some small country primary schools serving linguistically mixed communities such as Bergville, Kranskop, Winterton and Weenen. Where the community was generally a fairly bilingual one, and the teachers were thoroughly bilingual, dual medium offered practical advantages in any school which was so small that classes had to be grouped. In a two-teacher school in such a mixed community two broad types of organisation were possible; firstly, the parallel, in which one teacher was responsible for all the English medium children from class 1 to Standard VI, and the other teacher for all the Afrikaans medium children; and secondly, the dual, in which one teacher took all pupils of both media from class 1 to Standard II, and the other took all pupils of both media from Standard III to Standard VI. The dual medium organisation made it possible to divide the children into two broad groups according to their maturity, and lightened the teacher's task to the extent that he had to prepare lessons for only four classes each day and not for eight.

Much of the work with the infants in such a school is individual, the teacher moving round and helping each child in his own language; but gradually work in groups comprising children of both home languages becomes possible and in the upper standards a useful degree of bilingualism is attained.

This dual medium organisation was not provided for explicitly in the Ordinance, but it had seemed obviously consistent with the broad purpose of section 12 (2) and it had not been discouraged. It was practicable only in centres where the bilingualism of the school was supported by a generally bilingual community life.

Certain other schools, parallel in their general organisation, had offered dual medium instruction in practical subjects like Woodwork, Domestic Science, Physical Training and Music in partial fulfilment of the requirements of section 12 (2). In this way the girls of, say, Standard IV English medium and Standard IV Afrikaans medium would come together for Cookery lessons, while the boys of the same standard would come together in the Woodwork shop, and both languages were used in turn. In such groups children had found the use of their second language a natural social requirement. The teacher, of course, had to be fully bilingual.

EFFECT OF SECOND MEDIUM LESSONS ON EXAMINATION RESULTS

As will have been clear from earlier paragraphs,

there was a great volume of teacher opinion, much of it conflicting, about the value of second medium lessons, as, with available staff, it was possible to give them. Objective evidence was difficult to find. Internal examination scripts are not preserved for longer than a year, and there was little useful evidence available from external examinations. No class which had had second medium lessons had yet, at the time, sat for the Junior Certificate or the Matriculation examination; two such classes had sat for the Natal Standard VI examination.

The second medium pioneer class (the Standard II of 1943) wrote the Standard VI examination in December, 1947. The average mark in Afrikaans as Second Language in that year was rather lower than usual! The marking committee, however, considered that the paper was more difficult than usual, so that it was impossible to make precise comparisons. This Standard II of 1943, being the pioneers, had teachers in each standard who were giving second medium lessons for the first time, and may in some cases have been at a disadvantage on that account. The Standard II of 1944 had normally, since the beginning, had teachers with a year's experience of second medium work, and should have shown benefit from such work, if benefit there were, more clearly. This standard arrived in Standard VI in 1948 and took the Standard VI examination at the end of that year. The average mark was very high. The examiner, in his report, gave it as his opinion that the paper was easier than that set in the previous year, but recorded also the opinion that there

was an improvement in the quality of the work "apparently as the result of the second medium instruction".

No precise assessment of the value of the second medium instruction could be made from these examining results.

Comparison of Two Groups of Schools

Certain results of the Standard VI examination of 1948 were then subjected to a special scrutiny. Inspectors gave me the names of eight schools (referred to below as Group A) in which, in their opinion, the second medium lessons had been given unusually well, and of eight other schools (referred to below as Group B) in which they had been given poorly, if at all. I compared the performance of the two groups in Afrikaans as Second Language, and, by way of control, in Arithmetic.

The results were as follows:-

	Average Mark	
	Group A	Group B
Afrikaans as second language	108	107
Arithmetic	93	91

It will be seen that the difference between Group A and Group B in Afrikaans as Second Language was insignificant. Even such minimal superiority as Group A may have had over Group B in Afrikaans could not be credited to the second medium lessons, for Group A had a fractionally greater, though still statistically insignificant, superiority over Group B in Arithmetic.

Against this negative evidence from the Standard VI Examination may be set the generally positive tendency of the results of standardised vocabulary tests to be described below.

Use of Standardised Tests

The use of standardised tests to make a direct comparison of the achievement of those who had, and those who had not, had second medium lessons, was not possible in existing circumstances. If half the children in each standard had had regular second medium lessons over a number of years, and the other half had had no such lessons, it would have been a simple matter to compare the achievement of the two groups. There was, however, no such dividing line running through each standard. The dividing line between those who had not had second medium lessons, and those who had, ran, in 1949, between the Standard IX and the Standard VIII. The Standard IX had not had second medium lessons at any stage. It had, throughout, been one year ahead of the pioneer standard, and had therefore always been taught its second language as a language, in terms of section 12 (1) but had never had the additional lessons through the medium of its second language, as provided in section 12 (2); but, as it progressed from standard to standard, it had usually received these second medium lessons from teachers attempting such work for the first time. The Standard VII of 1949 had had instruction in terms of section

12 (1) and 12 (2) throughout, and its teachers in terms of 12 (2) had usually been teachers with a year's experience of such teaching.

It was therefore arranged to apply standardised tests to all pupils in Standards VII, VIII and IX of all Government European Schools in the province in an attempt to ascertain whether the second language achievement of Standards VII and VIII was, in relation to their standards, significantly better than that of Standard IX.

While numerous tests of linguistic ability in both languages had been standardised at the primary level, the Bureau of Educational and Social Research was able to provide only one such test for the standards here to be tested. This was a Vocabulary Test (both languages) for which the Bureau had, before the war, established norms for each standard for the schools of the Union. It would have been desirable to test other aspects of linguistic achievement besides vocabulary, but as no relevant standardised tests were available this was not possible.

Results of Vocabulary Tests

Each secondary class in the Government European Schools of Natal wrote the English Vocabulary Test (U.E. 56) and the Afrikaans Woordeskattoets (U.E. 170).

The results are given below in summary form.

(a) English Medium Pupils

	Std. VII	Std VIII	Std.IX
(i) Afrikaans Test-			
(X) Union norm (pre-war)	9.7	13.9	17.2
(Y) Natal average, 1949	11.7	15.2	16.9
(Y) As percentage of (X)	120.4	109.4	98.3
(ii) English Test-			
(X) Union norm (pre-war)	21.1	24.9	28.6
(Y) Natal average, 1949	22.2	25.6	27.9
(Y) As percentage of (X)	105.2	102.8	97.6

(b) Afrikaans Medium Pupils

(i) English Test -			
(X) Union norm (pre-war)	9.4	12.2	18.5
(Y) Natal average, 1949	12.9	15.6	20.3
(Y) As percentage of (X)	137.2	127.8	109.7
(ii) Afrikaans Test-			
(X) Union norm (pre-war)	24.1	31.0	35.8
(Y) Natal average, 1949	28.2	32.0	38.2
(Y) As percentage of (X)	117.0	103.2	106.7

Note on Validity of Second Language Norms

When the Union norms for these tests were established, separate norms for each province were not determined. It is considered probably, however, that the English of Natal Afrikaans medium pupils was then (and still was in 1949) rather better on the average than the English of Afrikaans medium pupils in other provinces. This might be expected because English is the language of the majority of Europeans in Natal and is more generally used here than Afrikaans in commerce and industry. If this assumption is correct, one should discount to some extent the apparently great improvement [see (b) (i) of the above table] in the English of Afrikaans medium pupils since the Union norms were established.

It is also considered probable (indeed there is some

evidence) that the Afrikaans of Natal English medium pupils was, on the average, poorer than the Afrikaans of English medium pupils in the other provinces. If this was so, the improvement in the Afrikaans of Natal English-speaking pupils was greater than the figures in paragraph (a) (i) of the above table would indicate.

Statistical Analysis of Results

I make grateful acknowledgment of the assistance of Dr. P. J. Olckers, Director of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, who arranged for the calculation of the statistical significance of the results. Responsibility for the interpretation of the results is, of course, mine.

Significance of Results

(a) Afrikaans of English medium pupils.

Std. VII: Natal 1949 score better than Union norm. Difference highly significant.

Std. VIII: Natal 1949 score better than Union norm. Difference significant.

Std. IX: Natal 1949 score worse than Union norm. Difference insignificant.

While there was a similar tendency for the 1949 Natal scores of these pupils in English to be better than the Union norm in Standards VII and VIII, and weaker in Standard IX, the differences in English were smaller.

Standards VII and VIII English medium, therefore, showed a superiority over the Union norm in Afrikaans vocabulary which might have been due, in part at least, to the second medium instruction they had received.

(b) English of Afrikaans medium pupils.

Std. VII: Natal 1949 score better than Union norm. Difference highly significant.

Std. VIII: Natal 1949 score better than Union norm. Difference highly significant.

Std. IX: Natal 1949 score better than Union norm. Difference just significant.

Making allowances for the fact that Standard VII scored comparatively well in main language also, Standards VII and VIII Afrikaans medium showed a superiority in English vocabulary which might have been due, in part at least, to the second medium instruction they had received.

Single Medium Compared with Parallel Medium
(including Dual Medium) Schools

A further analysis of the results reveals very significant differences in second language vocabulary between pupils in single medium schools and pupils in parallel medium (including dual medium) schools, in so far as English medium pupils are concerned.

(a) English-medium Pupils

	Std. VII	Std.VIII	Std.IX
(i) Afrikaans Test-			
Single-medium Schools.....	10.7	13.9	15.6
Parallel-medium Schools.....	17.6	22.2	24.8
(ii) English Test-			
Single-medium Schools.....	22.0	25.5	27.8
Parallel-medium Schools.....	23.5	26.3	28.2

The English-medium pupils in the parallel-medium schools were not inferior in English vocabulary to their contemporaries in the single medium schools. Their average score is slightly superior in all three standards but the differences are not statistically significant. In Afrikaans vocabulary, however, the scores of the English-medium pupils in parallel-medium schools were consistently better, to a highly significant degree. Before giving all the credit for this superiority to the parallel organisation of the schools it was though necessary, however, to examine the scores of the Afrikaans medium pupils.

(b) Afrikaans-medium Pupils

	Std. VII	Std.VIII	Std.IX
(i) English Test-			
Single-medium Schools.....	13.9	16.4	21.8
Parallel-medium Schools.....	12.4	15.4	19.4
(ii) Afrikaans Test-			
Single-medium Schools.....	26.7	30.7	36.1
Parallel-medium Schools.....	29.0	32.9	39.6

While the differences here were comparatively small, their consistent tendencies were of great interest. The English of Afrikaans-medium pupils in single-medium schools would appear to be rather better than that of Afrikaans-

medium pupils in parallel-medium schools, and their Afrikaans worse! The explanation of this apparent paradox seems to lie outside the school.

The English-medium pupils of our parallel-medium secondary and high schools live in comparatively small, bilingual country towns where Afrikaans is freely used. This social situation, reinforced by the parallel organisation of their schools, the bilingual assemblies, etc., gives them a great advantage in Afrikaans over their contemporaries in the English single-medium schools which are situated in predominantly English-speaking parts of the province.

The geographical distribution of the Afrikaans-medium pupils leads to different results. The single-medium pupils, minority groups in the predominantly English-speaking Pietermaritzburg and Durban, learn so much English incidentally from their environment that, in spite of the purely Afrikaans organisation of their schools, they score better marks in English than their parallel-medium contemporaries: and the Afrikaans organisation of their schools fails to give them Afrikaans vocabularies equal to those of their contemporaries in communities where Afrikaans is in general use, even though the latter are in parallel-medium schools.

This explanation does not account for the slight apparent superiority in English vocabulary of English medium pupils in parallel medium schools over those in single medium schools. The differences here are, however, statistic-

ally insignificant, i.e. may be due to chance variations.

It seems clear, in any case, that a pupil's progress in his second language is accelerated when that language is freely used in the community in which his school is situated, and in the general business of his school.

School and Community Language

The stimulating effect on second language learning of living in a school, or wider community, where that language is freely used, can be more clearly brought to light by carrying the analysis of these results a stage further.

(i) English-medium Secondary Pupils

In respect of achievement in Afrikaans, pupils of our single-medium schools can be subdivided into two groups: Group A, being those along the Coast, including Durban, and Group B being those in the Midlands, including Pietermaritzburg; and pupils of our parallel-medium schools can also be divided into two broad groups, Group C being those in Dundee and south and east of Dundee, where the majority of the pupils in each school is English-speaking, and Group D being those schools to the north and to the west of Dundee, where the majority of the pupils in each school is Afrikaans-speaking.

Average scores for each group in Afrikaans were as follows:-

	Std. VII	Std. VIII	Std. IX
Group A.....	9.5	12.7	13.7
Group B.....	13.7	16.7	18.2
Group C.....	15.8	20.2	20.0
Group D.....	19.7	24.6	29.4
(Union norm).....	(9.7)	(13.9)	(17.2)

The weakness of Group A is undoubtedly related to the predominantly English-speaking character of the coastal community. Afrikaans is comparatively little heard in the typical commercial and industrial activities of Durban. English-medium pupils at the Coast find Afrikaans less in practical use than their contemporaries do elsewhere in Natal; and they develop less facility in Afrikaans at school.

Pietermaritzburg is an administrative and educational centre and its people, and those of the Midlands generally, have therefore a more general appreciation of the practical usefulness of Afrikaans than people at the Coast have. There is also a larger proportion of Afrikaans-speaking people in the population (Afrikaans-medium pupils are 21.1 per cent. of the Government School population in Pietermaritzburg as compared with 10.7 per cent in Durban). The influence of these facts is reflected in the scores of the Group B pupils, which are above the Union norm in all standards, and very significantly so in Standards VII and VIII.

In the school populations of schools like Dundee and Greytown, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking are more equally balanced, though the majority is English-speaking. The school organisation is parallel, and both languages are freely used in the daily business of the schools.

Group C scores would appear to reflect this social situation.

The highest English-medium scores in Afrikaans are those of the Group D schools, those parallel-medium schools to the north and to the west of Dundee where the Afrikaans-medium pupils form the majority group and where the English-speaking pupils find the stimulus of the Afrikaans of the community at its highest.

(ii) Afrikaans Medium Secondary Pupils

The influence of the school and community languages is seen similarly in the English achievement of Afrikaans medium pupils in the parallel medium schools where the majority of the pupils are English-speaking, as compared with that of pupils in parallel medium schools where the majority of the pupils are Afrikaans-speaking.

Scores of Afrikaans medium pupils in English:

	Std. VII	Std. VIII	Std. IX
School parallel but majority-			
Afrikaans-speaking.....	12.0	14.2	18.6
School parallel but majority			
English-speaking.....	14.6	17.8	23.8
The pupils of the two Afrikaans			
single medium high schools			
take an intermediate place...	13.9	16.4	21.8

It will be recalled that in the case of these two schools the language of school business is Afrikaans, but the language of the outside community is predominantly English.

Bilinguality of English Medium and Afrikaans Medium Pupils

Exact comparisons are not possible, as the score distributions of the two tests applied (U.E. 56 and U.E. 170) are different. It is clear, however, that the least bilingual pupils are the English medium pupils in the single medium schools, particularly at the Coast. In the parallel medium schools there is greater equality between the two groups. The most bilingual children in Natal may well be the Afrikaans medium children of schools like Greytown and Empangeni and the English medium pupils of schools like Vryheid and Utrecht.

English Medium and English-speaking

"English medium", it is pointed out, is not entirely synonymous with "English-speaking". There are some Afrikaans-speaking pupils in English medium classes, and their presence tends to improve the showing of the English medium classes in Afrikaans. It does not, however, invalidate the comparison made between English medium pupils in single medium and English medium pupils in parallel medium schools. Some Afrikaans-speaking pupils are found in both, but fewer now than formerly.

Desirability of Further Surveys

The interpretation of the results of these tests has been made very difficult because of the impossibility

of isolating the numerous variables and because we do not know precisely how the pre-war Union norms would have compared with Natal norms if Natal norms had been established at that time. The figures do, however, throw light on several current tendencies, and it is considered desirable that further surveys should be made at suitable intervals.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

(i) Full effect was given to section 12 (1) of Ordinance No. 23 of 1942 in Government European Schools. In the lower and middle primary standards the time actually given to the study of the second language was generally well above the minimum requirement, and in the upper primary and secondary standards it was in most schools the maximum time permitted.

(ii) Section 12 (2) was not fully applied. Very few schools, apart from dual medium schools, had aimed at making more than the minimum provision required by the Ordinance, and many schools had made much smaller provision.

(iii) There were two main reasons for the incomplete application of section 12 (2): firstly, the pupils generally, and in the lower standards particularly, were insufficiently bilingual to derive full benefit from lessons through the second medium in most subjects of the curriculum; and secondly, adequately qualified staff was not

available to provide efficient instruction through the second medium from Std. II to Std. X, or even to Std. VIII, for the hours prescribed in the subsection.

(iv) Second medium instruction was given successfully, and with economy of effort, in most of the dual medium schools and sections. These schools and sections, however, provided an unusually favourable field for second medium work: they were situated in generally bilingual areas, and the total number of pupils in each was so small that grouping of some kind was accepted by parents, pupils and teachers alike as a practical necessity.

(v) Second medium instruction in the "practical" subjects was given successfully and without significant loss of time in many parallel medium and single medium schools where linguistically competent teachers were available.

(vi) The second medium was rarely used successfully outside dual medium schools in lessons which offered a considerable body of factual content, or which demanded close reasoning.

(vii) Secondary pupils in all single medium and most parallel medium schools were, on the average, insufficiently bilingual to learn examination subjects through the second medium without loss of time.

(viii) In the upper primary classes "academic"

subjects were often avoided. Sometimes lessons on "General Knowledge" were given through the second medium, but whilst some general knowledge was imparted it was knowledge outside the examination syllabus, and indefinite in amount. Many such lessons might have been more accurately described as language lessons.

(ix) The results of the standardised vocabulary tests revealed that there had been a very great improvement in the second language vocabularies of the pupils in Natal Government Secondary Schools since the tests were standardised before the war, and that the improvement was greatest in the standards which had received some instruction through the medium of the second language, in addition to their ordinary language lessons.

(x) The consensus of opinion among teachers and inspectors was that some of the credit for this improvement was due to the second medium instruction that the pupils had received, but that there were also other contributory causes, the most notable being: (a) The more sympathetic attitude of parents, (b) a more favourable general school atmosphere, and (c) improved teaching methods.

(xi) It was, however, the opinion of the great majority of teachers and inspectors that in most classrooms the gain in the second language as the result of second medium instruction under existing conditions was not commensurate with the time spent.

(xii) Pupils living in schools and communities where their second language was freely used had, as a rule, much better second language vocabularies than those living in single language schools and communities.

(xiii) While progress in the second language varied widely with the language patterns of the school and of the local community, progress in the main language seemed to be much less affected by such external stimuli.

(xiv) There was no evidence that second medium instruction had adversely affected achievement in the main language.

